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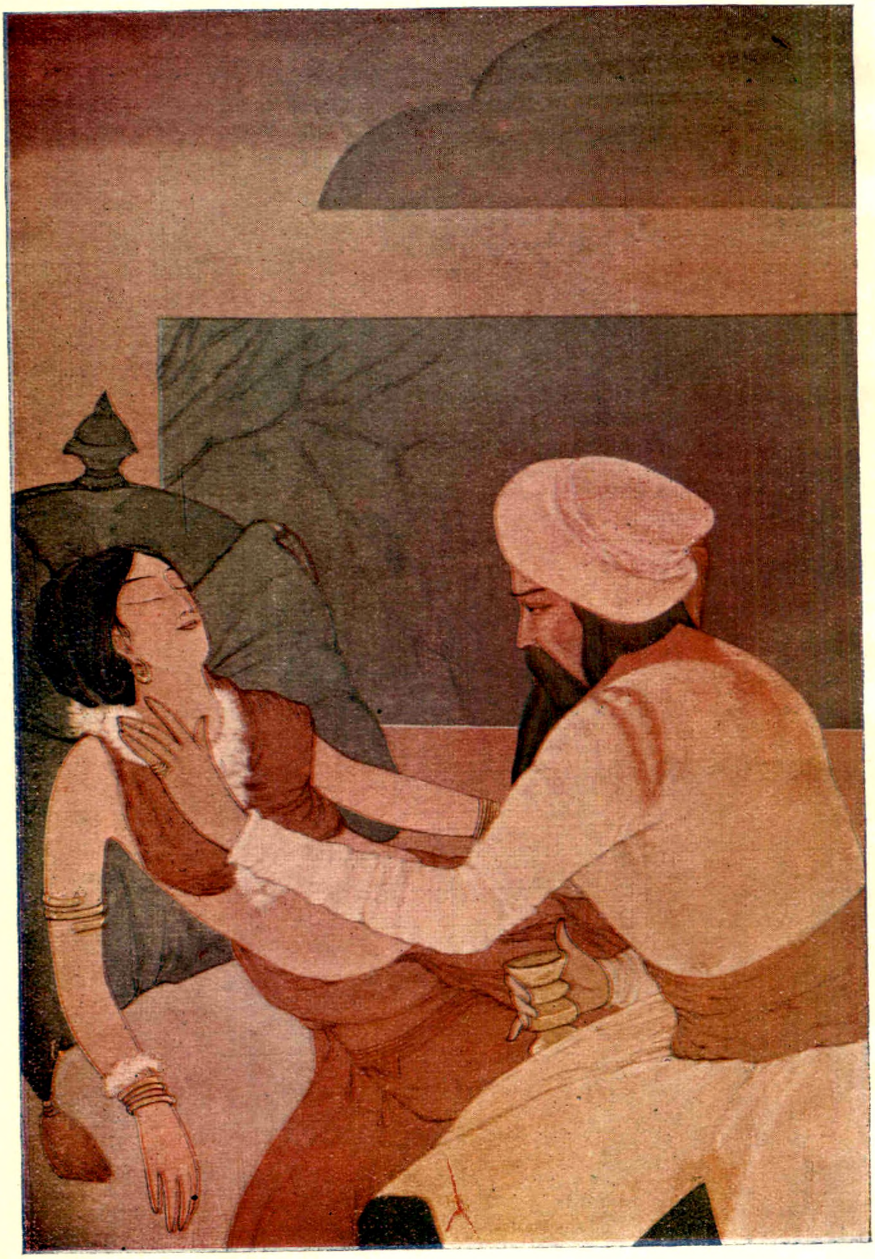

Artist—O. C. Ganguli]　　OMAR KHAYAM

"One Moment in Annihilation's Waste,
One Moment, of the Well of Life to taste—
The Stars are setting and the Caravan
Starts for the Dawn of Nothing—Oh, make haste!"

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1923

ASCETIC LITERATURE IN ANCIENT INDIA

It has become an almost general habit, to speak of the whole of the Indian literature and culture, as far as it is pre-Buddhist, as 'Brāhmaṇical' and generally to designate as 'Brāhmaṇical' everything that is not either Buddhist or Jain just as if in ancient India all literary production and intellectual work had been confined to the priests.

Only a few scholars such as Garbe and Rhys Davids have protested against this fashion of labelling everything as 'Brāhmaṇical' and have shown, that the Kṣatriyas also had a great share in the intellectual life and work of ancient India. And years ago E. Lenmann has pointed out, that there existed in ancient India also a 'Parivrājaka literature' in which not only Brāhmaṇical but also non-Brāhmaṇical ascetics (Parivrājakas) took part and that this literature has not been entirely lost but could be gathered together from different works of literature.

Now, I believe that this Parivrājaka or Śramaṇa or ascetic literature has been preserved to us to a much greater extent, than Lenmann thought. It is to be found chiefly in the didactic parts of the Mahābhārata and occasionally also in the Purāṇas. This ascetic literature is partly pre-Buddhist and traces of it are already found in the Upaniṣads, partly contemporaneous with Buddhist and Jain literature.

If there had not been two different representatives of intellectual and spiritual life in India, how could we explain the constant occurrence of the phrase 'Samanas and Brāhmaṇas' in the Buddhist sacred texts, of Samana Bambhana in Aśoka's inscriptions, and the distinctions Megasthenes makes between 'Brāhmaṇas' and 'Sarmanas' (Brachmânai and Sarmânai).

When we examine more closely the literature of legends and poetical maxims, included in the Mahābhārata and in the Purāṇas, we shall clearly distinguish not only two different ethical systems, two different views of life, but also two distinctly different streams of literature. We shall find on the one hand Brāhmaṇical ethics, the priestly view of life, Brāhmaṇical literature, and on the other hand, ascetic morality, the ascetic view of life and ascetic literature.

And what is the difference? Brāhmaṇical legendary poetry starts from Vedic mythology. Its heroes are the Ṛṣis of old, the ancestors of the Brāhmaṇas, the founders of the great priestly families and schools. These Ṛṣis are themselves half-mythical beings who have much in common with the 'heroes' of ancient Greece. These Greek 'heroes' were a particular class of beings by the side of gods and men, men of bygone ages, famous in legend or history, who received worship as supermen as we might call them. The same is the case with the Ṛṣis in India. They too, belong to a distant past. No Ṛṣis are born in the Kali Yuga, says Āpastamba. They are a class of beings by the side of the gods whom they even assisted at the creation. In Greece it was mostly ancient kings, who became 'heroes' though Lykurg, the law-giver, and poets like Homer, Aeschylos and Sophokles also were honoured among the 'heroes,' the Indian Ṛṣis (even the Rājarṣis, the royal Ṛṣis) were above all sages, the seers of the Vedic hymns, the framers of law and ritual. As the ancestors of the Brāhmaṇical families they naturally were the heroes of Brāhmaṇical poetry.

The ethics of the legendary poetry and still more of the Brāhmaṇical gnomic poetry is entirely a priestly code of morals. It requires knowledge of the Veda, sacrifice, and honouring of the Brāhmaṇas, who are even placed above the gods. It strictly adheres to the system of castes. By 'charity' these Brāhmaṇical legends and maxims invariably mean liberality towards the Brāhmaṇas, ample gifts to the priests. Self-sacrifice means absolute devotion towards the priests. That king is praised and glorified who presents thousands of cows to the Brāhmaṇas, that king is actually raised into heaven, who is entirely obedient to the priest and humbles himself completely before the Brāhmaṇa. This ethical system also knows the ideal of renunciation of the world,—but only from the point of view of the Āśrama theory according to which the Aryan has first to pass the stage of Brahmacārin, the student of the Veda, and of the householder (gṛhastha) who founds a family, offers sacrifices, and honours the Brāhmaṇs, before he is allowed to retire from this world as an hermit or an ascetic.

Quite different is the ethical ideal of the ascetic poetry. Its legends are not based on the mythology of the Veda, but rather on the folk-lore of popular tales and ballads. The heroes of this legendary poetry are not the half-divine Ṛṣis, but the world renouncing Yogins and ascetics. It is true, we read a great deal about Tapas, austerities, also in the Brāhmaṇical legends of the ancient Ṛṣis. But this Tapas in Brāhmaṇical literature is rather a magic power as which it is found even among primitive people but not a moral factor. Thus in Brāhmaṇical legends asceticism for the Ṛṣis is a means of obtaining supernatural powers which even makes the king of the gods tremble in his heaven. By Tapas the Ṛṣi becomes a 'Superman' who inspires fear, and may become dangerous by his curse. The cursing Ṛṣi is a typical figure in Brāhmaṇical legends. Therefore there is often something primitive about such Ṛṣis as Agastya, for instance, who swallows and digests the ocean, and is a warrior and hunter as well as an ascetic, and who has more of a Herakles than of a sage about him. On the other hand, in the ascetic poetry, asceticism is a moral factor and the hero of its legends is the saint who has renounced the world and looks upon asceticism as a means for obtaining enancipation, Mokṣa: the saint who fears no being and of whom no being is afraid. He is a hero only in the sense of the man who goes to the utmost limit of self-denial and self-sacrifice. For this ascetic morality culminates in Ahiṁsā, abstaining from hurting any being, and in Maitrî, love of all that lives. It demands complete renunciation of this world, and it disregards caste. Not priests are the poets of these legends and maxims and the teachers of this morality, but sages of all castes and ranks.

This ascetic morality however is only part of the whole ascetic view of life which is based on the belief in transmigration and *karman*. This belief in the deed that is the fate of man and leads to the misery of Saṁsāra, to the eternal round of rebirths and redeaths (punarmṛtyu) lies at the root of that pessimism that is so characteristic of all ascetic poetry. It is full of bitter complaints about the worthlessness and transitoriness of earthly life, about old age, disease and death harassing the beings, when hurled about from existence to existence. The consciousness of this suffering to which all creatures are subject, leads to that great pity with all that lives, to the ethics of Ahiṁsā and Maitrî. But when the question is asked, what is the cause of all this suffering, the answer given—not only by the Buddhists but also by other ascetic sects—is: It is the greed, tṛṣnā (the thirst) the unsatiable desire, that drives the beings on to every new karman and new rebirths. And lastly the other pole of the pessimistic view of life is emancipation, deliverance from saṁsāra, mokṣa and nirvāna. Hence the frequent descriptions of the bliss of tranquillity of the saint and sage whether he is called Yogin or Arhat or Kevalin or Buddha or Jaina—who has reached what is called 'Nirvāna' or 'Brahman,' or 'abode of Viṣṇu,' but is essentially one and the same thing in all ascetic literature.

These are the ideas which pervade the whole of ascetic poetry in the Mahābhārata as well as in Buddhist and Jain texts, and are found again in the Śānti and Vairāgya Śatakas of Bhartṛhari and other poets.

But all these ideas are hardly ever met with in the Veda. They are absent from the hymns and scarce in the Upaniṣads. It is true, we find, the karman doctrine in two of the oldest Upaniṣads, the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka where characteristically enough it is taught by a king to the Brāhmaṇa. But it is only one of the latest Upaniṣads the Maitrāyaṇīya which by its style and language proves to be nearer the classical than the Vedic literature, in which we meet with all those pessimistic ideas which are so characteristic of ascetic poetry.

The two ethical ideas—the āśrama ideal of the Brāhmaṇism and the ascetic ideal are well-contrasted in one of the finest pieces of ascetic poetry—the pitāputrasaṁvāda 'dialogue between father and son' which is found twice in the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata, in an expanded verson in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, and other versions of which are found in the Buddhist Jātaka and in the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra of the Jainas. (This occurrence in so many different texts proves that it is neither Buddhist nor Jain but belongs to general ascetic literature). In this dialogue the son denounces this world which is harassed by death and decay, and praises the ascetic life, while the father admonishes him to stick to the Brāhmaṇical ideal, according to which Veda study, family life, and religious rites should be practised in youth and ascetic life and renunciation of this life only in old age. Let me quote part of this dialogue from Muir's translation from the Mahābhārata:

Son.

Since soon the days of mortals end,
How ought the wise their lives to spend?

What course should I, to duty true,
My sire, from youth to age pursue?

Father.

Begin thy course with study; store
The mind with holy Vedic lore.
That stage completed, seek a wife,
And gain the fruit of wedded life,
A race of sons, by rites to seal,
When thou art gone, thy spirit's weal.
Then light the sacred fires, and bring
The gods a fitting offering.
When age draws nigh, the world forsake
Thy chosen home the forest make;
And there a calm, ascetic sage,
A war against thy passions wage,
That, cleansed from every earthly stain,
Thou may'st supreme perfection gain.

Son.

And art thou then, my father, wise,
When thou dost such a life advise?
What wise or thoughtful man delights
In formal studies, empty rites?
Should such pursuits and thoughts engage
A mortal more than half his age?
The world is ever vexed, distressed;
The noiseless robbers never rest.

Father.

Tell how the world is vexed, distressed;
What noiseless robbers never rest?
What means thy dark, alarming speech?
In plainer words thy meaning teach.

Son.

The world is vexed by death ; decay
The frames of mortals wear away.
Dost thou not note the circling flight
Of those still robbers, day and night,
With stealthy tread which hurrying past
Steal all our lives away at last?...........
No moment lose; in serious mood
Begin at once to practise good ;
To-morrow's task to-day conclude ;
The evening's work complete at noon :
No duty can be done too soon.
Who knows whom death may seize to-night,
And who shall see the morning light?
And death will never stop to ask,
If thou hast done or not, thy task.
While yet a youth, from folly cease ;
Through virtue seek for calm and peace.
So shalt thou here attain renown
And future bliss thy lot shall crown...........
Thou dost advise, that I should please
With sacrifice the deities.
Such rites I disregard as vain ;
Through these can none perfection gain.
Why sate the gods, at cruel feasts
With flesh and blood of slaughtered beasts?
Far other sacrifices I
Will offer unremittingly ;
The sacrifice of calm, of truth,
The sacrifice of peace, of ruth,
Of life serenely, purely spent,
Of thought profound on Brahma bent.
Who offers these may death defy,
And hope for immortality.
And then thou say'st that I should wed

And sons should gain to tend me dead
By offering pious gifts, to seal,
When I am gone, my spirit's weal.
But I shall ask no pious zeal
Of sons to guard my future weal.
No child of mine shall ever boast
His rites have saved his father's ghost
Of mine own bliss I'll pay the price
And be myself my sacrifice."

There are indications enough that this ascetic poetry had its origin in non-Brāhmaṇical circles. It cannot be a mere accident that in the Mahābhārata the persons who teach this ascetic morality are as a rule not Brāhmaṇas. Thus it is Vidura who is very often made the mouth-piece for maxims and legends of ascetic poetry. Though this Vidura lived at the court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and was highly respected, his low origin is frequently alluded to. He converses with Yudhiṣṭhira in language unintelligible to others contrary to the rule found in the Mahābhārata and already in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, that Aryans should not speak barbarian languages (nāryā mlecchantibhāṣāh). Being himself the son of a slave girl, he also marries a Pārasava maiden, that is, the offspring of a king begotten on a Śūdra woman. In the Jātaka where he is called Vidura or Vidhura and always appears as the prototype of wisdom, he once quotes two verses in which four kinds of slaves are enumerated, and adds: "I am myself 'slave by birth' (addha hi yonito aham pi jāto), just as in the Mahābhārata (5, 40, 5) he says शूद्रयोनावहं जात:

Long didactic sections are put in the mouth of Vidura, so the Vidurahitavākya (5, 32-40). Though the majority of the verses in the section contain general rules of morality and wisdom, it also contains a great number of verses which teach what I call ascetic morality—verses which sound quite Buddhistic and some of which have actually been traced in the Pāli canon.

Another great section in which Vidura is the speaker, is the Dhṛtarāṣṭraśokapanodana in the Strīparvan (2-7) where Vidura tries to comfort Dhṛtarāṣṭra about the loss of his sons. He describes here the misery of Saṁsāra and the power of death and fate. Here he relates the famous parable of 'the Man in the Well.'

A Brāhmaṇa once lost his way in a dense forest full of beasts of prey. In great terror he ran about, looking in vain for a way out. Then he saw that the terrible forest was surrounded on all sides by traps, and, that a dreadful-looking woman encircled it with both her arms. Five-headed dragons big and horrible to look at, and rising like rocks to the sky, surrounded this great forest. And in the middle of this forest there was a well, covered over with underwood and creepers. The Brāhmaṇa fell into it, and remained hanging in the branches of a creeper. As the large fruit of a bread-fruit tree, held by its stalk, hangs down, so he was hanging there, feet upwards, head downwards. And yet another, even greater danger threatens him there. In the middle of the well he perceives a big and mighty serpent, and from one end of the covering of the well he sees a giant elephant, black, with six mouths and twelve feet, slowly approaching. But in the branches of the tree that covered the well, all kinds of horrible bees were swarming and prepared honey. And as the honey was dripping down, it was greedily swallowed by the man hanging in the well. For he was not weary of existence and did not give up the hope of life, even though white and black mice also were gnawing the tree on which he hang.

The parable is thus explained by Vidura: The forest is the Saṁsāra, the round of existences in this world; the beasts of prey are the diseases; the hideous giant woman is old age; the well is the body; the dragon at the bottom of the well is Time; the creepers in which the man is hanging is the hope of life; the elephant with six mouths and twelve feet is the Year with its six seasons and twelve months, the black and white mice are the nights and the days, and the honey drops are the sensual pleasures.

There can be no doubt that this parable is a genuine production of Ancient Indian ascetic poetry. It has sometimes been called a Buddhist parable, but it is no more in accordance with the Buddhist view of life than that of the Jains or any other ascetic sect of India. A Jain version of the parable is found in the Dharmaparîkṣā of the Digambara Amitagati (1017 A. D.) and again in the Sthavirāvalicarita of the famous Jain monk Hemacandra (12th cent.). Buddhist versions are found in Avadānas known from Chinese translations. And it must be through some Buddhist version that it found its way into the Buddhist Christian legend book 'Barlaam and Joasaph' and the world-known fable book 'Kalilag and Damnag.' The Persian Sufi poet Jelal-ed-din Rumi translated it into Persian, from which P. Ruckert rendered it into German in a poem which is well-known to every child in Germany. It has wandered to many peoples and has equally served for the edification of the Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists, and Jains, as of Mahomedans, Jews and Christians.

But that it is neither Buddhist nor Jain in origin, but belongs to an earlier stratum of ascetic poetry is shown by its appearance in Vidura's discourse of consolation. For after relating this parable, Vidura continues to teach love, kindness and pity towards all beings as the only way that leads out of the Saṁsāra, which is here called the way to Brahman or to the eternal abode of Viṣṇu, though it is described in the same way as the Buddhist Nirvāna.

In other cases also we find men of despised caste or of low rank as teachers of ascetic morality. Thus in the Vanaparvan (207-216) the Brāhmaṇa Kauśika is instructed by the pious hunter and dealer in meat Dharmavyâdha on philosophy and ethics, and is taught that a man is a true Brāhmaṇa not by birth but by virtuous conduct. The pious woman who has sent him to the Dharmavyādha also recites

(III. 206-8) a number of verses with the refrain तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः 'Him the gods know to be a Brāhmaṇa,' namely, him who gives up wrath and ignorance—him who having himself been injured, never injures others, who has his passions all controlled, etc. Similar passages (with the refrain : tam aham brūmi brahmanam, 'him I call a Brāhmaṇa' occur also in the Udāna of the Buddhists. And also in the Śāntiparvan (251-10) it is said—exactly as in Buddhist maxim—that one does not become a Brāhmaṇa by Veda study and sacrifice, but only by giving up all desires and by kindness towards all beings.

Another important piece of ascetic poetry in the Mahābhārata is the Tulâdhâra-Jājali Saṁvāda, the narrative dialogue between Jājali and Tulādhāra (śāntipārvan, 261-264), in which again a man of low caste, the pedlar Tulādhāra, teaches the Brāhmaṇa Jājali the eternal law of love (maitrî) and non-violence (ahiṁsā).

Very often the teachings of ascetic morality are mixed up with those of Brāhmaṇical ethics and it is not always easy to decide, whether we have to see in such passages an attempt at a compromise between the two different views of life or rather the retouching of an old piece of ascetic poetry at the hands of some Brāhmaṇical editor. Thus in the Dharmavyādha section from which I have just quoted, the pious hunter preaches Ahiṁsā but tries to bring it into harmony with the requirements of the Brāhmaṇical cult.

Certainly the Ahiṁsā doctrine, the most essential part of ascetic morality, is absolutely incompatible with the animal sacrifice of Brāhmaṇic rites. There are several passages in the Mokṣadharma of the Mahābhārata where the slaying of animals for sacrifice is absolutely denounced, while in other passages both Ahiṁsā and the observances of Vedic rites are taught at the same time.

A pure piece of ascetic poetry are the verses sung by king Vicakhnu (Mahābhārat, XII, 265) 'out of

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[1] Hebrew versions in the fables of Rabbi Barachia Nikdani (1661)

compassion for the creatures' (प्रजानामनुकम्पार्थम्). When he sees a bull being prepared for sacrifice, he denounces the slaying of animals and teaches that Ahiṁsā is the highest law, which Manu himself is said to have declared to be the very soul of religion. सर्वकर्मस्वहिंसाहि धर्मात्मा मनुरब्रवीत्. Mark that it is a king and not a Brāhmaṇa who teaches this lesson.

Again in the Yajñanindā chapter (Mbh. XII. 272): A Brāhmaṇa who according to his vow offers only vegetable sacrifices, is tempted by an antelope, by the goddess Sāvitrî, and by the sight of the heavenly world with its Apsaras, to make his sacrifice complete by animal offering. But the moment he desires to slay the antelope, the fruit of his asceticism (तपस्) vanishes from him and the antelope who is in reality God Dharma in disguise, teaches him that slaying cannot be part of worship (तस्मात् हिंसा न यज्ञिया) for: 'Non-violence is the whole religion' (Ahiṁsā sakalo dharmaḥ).

Very interesting is the Gokapilîya section in the same book of the Mahābhārata (XII. 269-71). The Yati Kapila sees a cow that is to be slain for sacrifice, and exclaims: 'Alas, the Vedas' (वेदा३ इति). On hearing this, the Risi Syūmaraśmi enters into the body of the cow, and asks Kapila, what better doctrines he would substitute for the Veda. Kapila begins his answer with the words: 'I do not blame the Vedas,' yet the tenor of his answer is directed against the Veda. And in the whole lengthy dialogue Syūmaraśmi consistently defends the Vedic point of view, while Kapila is entirely inconsistent in teaching Ahiṁsā, resignation and knowledge as the only road to Mokṣa, and at the same time acknowledging Vedic rites and ceremonies. We know from many examples in Indian literature from the Upaniṣads and the Buddhist Suttas down to the works of Śaṅkara, that the art of dialectics was highly developed in India, that Indian Philosophers always were good debaters. And if we find such a poor piece of dialectics as the Gokapilîya is, it seems to me perfectly clear, that we have a piece of ancient ascetic poetry that has been entirely spoiled by the Brāhmaṇical editor.

Another example for such attempts at Brāhmaṇising original ascetic poetry is the interesting dialogue between an adhvaryu, a sacrificial priest and a Yati, an ascetic, in the Anugîtā (Mbhar. XIV. 28, 6 ff.). Here the ascetic reproaches the priest that he was committing the sin of violence (hiṁsā) by immolating a he-goat. To this the priest replies :- The he-goat is not destroyed by being sacrificed, on the contrary he attains highest bliss, for it is said in the Veda: 'That part of it which is of the substance of earth goes to the earth; that which is of the substance of water goes to the waters; its eye goes to the sun, its ear to the quarters, and its breath to heaven.' Whereupon the ascetic replies; "If you think that this he-goat by being deprived of life attains highest bliss, then the sacrifice is offered for the sake of the he-goat, what use it is then to you? And besides, however that may be, you would have to consult with the brother, the father, the mother and all the kindred to the he-goat, whether they agree to his being slain.' The Adhvaryu has practically nothing to reply to this. But the curious thing is, that the author of the Anugîtā represents the Adhvaryu as the victor in the debate, while the unbiassed reader certainly has the impression that the ascetic is right. This is, no doubt, due to the Brāhmaṇical editor having retouched the dialogue which originally was nothing but a piece of ascetic poetry.

For in many other passages also the Anugîtā enjoins the law of Ahiṁsā. It says, f.i. (14, 50, 2 ff.) that Ahiṁsā is the highest law, knowledge the highest good and those who defend the slaying of animals at sacrifice will go to hell as Nāstikas. And there are many passages which are in full agreement with the Buddhist and Jain ideas. What the Siddha says at the very beginning of the Anugîtā could have been said by Mahāvîra in any Jain text, or by the Tathāgata in any Buddhist Sutta. Even terms like tṛṣṇā, saṁskāra, nirvāna are used quite in the Buddhist sense. The 'Gāthās sung by king Ambarîṣa' (quoted 14, 31, 5 ff.) in which avidity (lobha) and greed (tṛṣnā) are said to be the worst enemies of man that must be eradicated with the sword, sound Buddhist. And king Janaka also speaks like a Buddhist when he says (14, 32) that he cannot call anything his own, that nothing belongs to him and quotes, as from the Veda, though it is not to be found in it, a saying 'whose is this, whose is my own?' (कस्येदमिति कस्य स्वमिति). And as in the Buddhist Suttas it is so often said that he is wise and emancipated for whom there is no 'Ego' and no 'mine' so we read in the Anugîtā (14, 51, 29): 'Two syllables mean death, three syllables 'the eternal Brahman.' '(मम)' 'mine' means 'death' '(न मम)' 'not mine' 'the eternal.'

But also in the Śāntiparvan and other didactic parts of the Mahābhārata we find numerous verses which remind us of similar verses in the Pāli Tipiṭaka, and quite a number of verses of the Mahābhārata have actually been found almost verbally in Buddhist texts.

Thus we read in the Śāntiparvan the famous saying of Janaka of Videha (अनन्तं वत मे वित्तं यस्य मे नास्ति किंचन। मिथिलायां प्रदीप्तायां न मे दहति किंचन।

"Infinite wealth is mine, as I possess nothing, if Mithilā burns down, nothing is burnt that is mine" (Mahābhārat XII. 178) The same verse is found in the Jātaka and in a Jain legend. Again we are reminded of the Taṇhāvagga in the Dhammapada, when we read verses as the following in the Mahābhārata.[1]

"All the happiness consisting in the fulfilment of one's desires, and whatever bliss there may be in heaven, all that is not worth the sixteenth part of the bliss consisting in the annihilation of greed (tṛṣnā)."

"That disease, of which the fool never gets rid, that does not grow old with old age, that disease which only ends with life itself—it is greed (tṛṣṇā), happy the man who frees himself from it."

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[1] XII, 174, 46, 55, 21F; 36.

"As the tailor with his needle passes the thread through the garment, so the thread web of Saṁsāra is passed through the needle of greed (tṛṣnā)."

"As the horn of a cow grows at the same rate as the cow grows, so greed (tṛṣnā) grows at the same rate as wealth grows."

There is a famous legend found both in the Mahābhārata and in the Purāṇas, the legend of Yayāti, which has been made the vehicle for conveying the same lesson of ascetic morality that is expressed in these verses. Yayāti is not a Brāhmaṇical hero. He belongs to a race of kings who were hostile to the Brāhmaṇas: His grand-father Purūravaṣ oppressed the Brāhmaṇas and was therefore cursed by the Ṛṣis.[1] His father Nahuṣa went so far as to tax the Ṛṣis and even to ride on their backs. Even in heaven, after having conquered Indra, he yoked the heavenly Ṛṣis before his chariot, and set his foot on the head of Agastya, who cursed him that he fell down from heaven and had to live on earth as a snake for 10,000 years. Yayāti, the son of Nahuṣa, had two wives, one was the daughter of the Asura King, the other that of the Asura priest Śukra. Even towards this Asura priest he behaved badly, and was cursed by him that he should lose his youth and become old at once. But he was allowed to confer his old age on somebody else. His youngest son Pūru is prepared to bestow his youth on his father and take old age from him. Thus Yayāti having become young again enjoys life and all sensual pleasures once more for a thousand years to the full but he never is satiated. And at last after a thousand years he becomes aware of the truth which he expresses in the verses:

"Verily, not by satisfying desires, is craving ever appeased: No, it only grows and becomes stronger, as fire by ghee poured into it. Even the whole earth, filled with treasures, gold and cattle and women, they are not enough for one man:—Considering this, seek calmness of mind. Only he, who never injures any being by deeds or thoughts or words,—becomes one with the Brahman. He who fears nothing, and of whom no being is ever afraid, he who desires nothing, and knows no hatred,—becomes one with the Brahman." With these thoughts he returns his youth to his son Pūru, taking his own old age from him and having placed Pūru on the throne he goes to the forest and devotes himself to rigorous austerities for a thousand years.

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[1] Mahābhārata 4, F5.

Windisch[1] has once referred to this legend as 'having a Buddhist character,' and has pointed out a parallel to the pada: पकस्यापिन पर्याप्तं in the Mārasamyukta of the Divyāvadāna. I see in it an old folk tale reminding us of the Greek Titan myths, that was converted into a piece of ascetic poetry.

The Mahābhārata, and more specially the Mokṣadharma of the Śāntiparvan, is full of legends and moral maxims which have all the appearance of being Jain or Buddhist in their origin, but which at any rate cannot be called Brāhmaṇical. Take for instance, the story of the huntsman and the doves (Śānti-parvan 143-149).[2] This 'sacred sin-destroying Itihāsa' relates how the wicked hunter has caught a female dove and how the husband of this dove burns himself in the fire for the wicked hunter who has caught his beloved wife only because he has no other food to offer to him whom he considered as his 'guest,' how the dove follows her husband into death, whereupon the wicked hunter deeply touched, gives up his wild life, becomes an ascetic and finally also seeks death in the fire. This story might be of Jain origin, as the Jainas approve of religious suicide. At any rate it is not 'Brāhmaṇical.'

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[1] Māra and Buddha, p. 108A.

[2] It is also found in the Jaina recension of the Pañcatantra.

Another side of the ascetic view of life is illustrated in the story of Mudgala (Mahābhārata 3, 260 f.). The ascetic Mudgala is very wise and pious, and one day a messenger of the gods appears, to lead him up to heaven. But Mudgala is cautious enough to enquire of the messenger, what kind of life it is that awaits the beings in heaven. The messenger describes all the glories of heaven and the bliss that awaits the pious there. He cannot, however, conceal from him the fact that this bliss is not of eternal duration. Everyone must reap the fruit of his actions. When once the Karman is exhausted, one has to descend again from heaven and begin a new life. Thereupon Mudgala does not want to hear any more of heaven. He devotes himself again to ascetic practices, and finally through deep meditation (dhyānayoga) and complete indifference towards the world of senses attains to the highest place of Viṣṇu in which alone the bliss of Nirvāna is to be found.

Another hero of ascetic poetry, who not only refuses heaven, but even prefers hell to it, is king Vipaścit ('the Wise One') in the beautiful legend told in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa:

Vipaścit has been pious and virtuous all his life, yet after his death, he is led by Yama's attendant into hell. The king is much surprised at that, but the attendant tells him that once he has committed a slight transgression of one of the rules prescribed by Brāhmaṇic religion and according to the law of Karman he must stay in hell for a very short time. And after a few minutes he turns to lead the king out of hell to his well-deserved abode in heaven. The king is about to go, when he hears horrible wailing and the dwellers in hell beseech and implore him to stay one moment longer, for a wondrously pleasant breath emanated from him appeasing the tortures of hell. Yama's attendant explains to the king, that from the noble deeds of a good man a refreshing breath emanates that is soothing to the tortured in hell. On hearing this the king staunchly refuses to go to heaven. For, he says in a magnificent dialogue, not in heaven nor in Brahman's world is there such bliss for men as in helping those who are suffering. In vain he is first told by Yama's attendant, then by Yama himself and even by god Indra, that every man must receive the reward or the punishment of his good or evil deeds. The king insists on his remaining in hell, as long as he can assuage the suffering of the poor dwellers in hell, who for him are not sinners but sufferers. He only leaves hell, when the lord of the gods promises him, that by his good works the denizens of hell will be released from their pain.

King Vipaścit is a counterpart, perhaps a forerunner of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in Mahāyāna Buddhism, but he is certainly not a Brāhmaṇical hero.

In Brahmanical legends, too, we hear of kings who perform wonderful feats of self-denial, self-sacrifice and self-humiliation. You will know the stories of king Śibi who in Buddhist legends pulls out his eyes to give them to a blind begger or gives up his body for the welfare of men and beasts. In the Mahābhārata too an Itihāsa is told of this king who gives up his flesh and blood, to save the life of a pigeon, and to satisfy the hawk whom he has deprived of his food (Mabh. III. 100 f., 197; XIII. 32). This is genuine ascetic poetry. But in another passage of the Mahābhārata [1] we are told that this same king Śibi as a pious sacrificer presented to the priests so many cows as rain-drops fall to the ground, as there are stars in the sky, and grains of sand in the bed of the Ganges. And again in another passage [2] this king Śibi is represented as a model king, because he slaughters his own son Bṛhadgarbha and cooks his flesh and is even prepared to eat the flesh of his son—only because he is ordered to do so by a Brāhmaṇa and for this glorious deed of devotion to the priests he went from this world straight to heaven (नाकपृष्ठ मितोगतः).

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[1] III. 58.

[2] III. 198; *cf.* XII. 234, 19.

Here you see the great difference between ascetic and Brāhmaṇic legendary poetry most clearly.

I am afraid, I have taxed your patience already too long. But what I said, will suffice to show that there was in ancient India an ascetic literature different in its character and in its teaching entirely from the Brāhmaṇic literature.

The question arises : What is the historical position of this ancient Indian ascetic poetry ?

As a matter of fact, this ascetic poetry is found chiefly in the didactic portions of the Mahābhārata in connection with the psychological and metaphysical doctrines of Sāṁkhya and Yōga, besides largely in Buddhist and Jain Literature. And it will be found that the ideas and ideals of this ascetic poetry are organically connected with Sāṁkhya and Yoga as well as with Buddhism and Jainism while whenever they appear mixed up with orthodox Brāhmaṇism in Brāhmaṇical literature they appear as something foreign.

Now if it were proved or could be proved that the didactic sections of the Mahābhārata especially the Mokṣadharma and the Anugîtā, are pre-Buddhist and belong to the 6th century B. C., then we could say that ascetic legends and moral tales and maxims found in the Mahābhārata are the source from which the ascetic poetry of the Buddhists and Jains is derived. But a careful study of the Mahābhārata has shown that the didactic sections belong to the the latest, not the oldest, stratum of the Mahābhārata, and that the teaching contained in them is not a uniform system of philosophy as it is sometimes called,—but rather a jumble of the most different philosophical teaching of different times. It is, therefore, impossible to fix the ascetic poetry of the Mahābhārata chronologically. All we can say, is that many of the Itihāsas and moral maxims of the Mahābhārata may have existed and probably did exist independently or as parts of other works long before they came to be included in the great epic, while others are of later growth.

I am inclined to think that ascetic poetry and the peculiar view of life expressed in it, first arose in an old form of Yoga which was merely a system of ethics and a practical theory of redemption, that could as easily be combined with Sāṁkhya, as with Buddhist and Jain teaching. Both Sāṁkhya and Yoga though taken up into the folds of orthodox Brāhmaṇism were orginally not Brāhmaṇical, but independent of the Veda.

At any rate, it is worth mentioning that wherever Sāṁkhya doctrines are taught in the Mahābhārata, as in the Mokṣadharma and in the Anugîtā, it is only the ethical teaching, the Yoga element, to which we find so many parallels in Buddhist literature. Take for instance, the teaching of Pañcaśikha (Pañcaśikhavākya) in the Mokṣadharma (Mahābhārata XII. 218-220). Pañcaśikha is the teacher of Janaka of Videha, and the pupil of Āsuri, the pupil of Kapila. All that he teaches about ethics is hardly different from the teaching of Buddha and most of the maxims found in the Pañcaśikhavākya are such as we are wont to find in the Dhammapada or Suttanipāta or any other Buddhist text. On the other hand, of all that he says about the Guṇas, Buddhi, Manas and other peculiar Sāṁkhya doctrines, nothing is to be found in Buddhism or Buddhist literature.

But some of the legends and maxims of the ascetic poetry contained in the epic are doubtless borrowed from Jain or Buddhist texts. As it is, whenever we find the same legend or maxim both in the Mahābhārata and in Buddhist and Jain texts there are two possibilities :

(1). The original may have been either Buddhist or Jain ; or (2). The parallel passages may all go back to the same source, an older ascetic literature, that probably arose in connection with Yoga or Sāṁkhya-Yoga teaching.

It will have to be decided in each individual case, whether the one or the other is more probable. A wide field of research opens here to students of the Mahābhārata, and of

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Jain and Buddhist literature. This research is not only necessary for the history of Indian literature, but will also throw considerable light on the history of Indian ethics [1]

M. WINTERNITZ

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[1] Readership lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on the 12th August, 1923.

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SWIFT AS A POLITICAL PAMPHLETEER

Recently on looking into one of the numbers of the *Examiner* written by Swift (No. 32 : it is dated Thursday March 15, 1710-11) I was interested to find the Frenchmen of that day held up to obloquy. The diatribes of present-day government journalists against the French at the Genoa Conference are milk and water compared to it. The occasion was the attempted assassination of Harley by Guiscard, a French papist, an attempt which was all but successful and paved the way to the bitter quarrel and strained relations between Harley and St. John. "I am sensible," writes Swift, "it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few desperate villains it is so unfortunate to produce; yet at the same time it must be avowed, that the French have, for these last centuries, been somewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the persons of their greatest men; such as the Admiral de Coligny, the Dukes of Guise father and son, and the two kings I last mentioned. I have sometimes wondered how a people, whose genius seems wholly turned to singing and dancing, and prating, to vanity and impertinence; who lay so much weight upon modes and gestures; whose essentialities are generally so very superficial; who are usually so serious upon trifles, and so trifling upon what is serious, have been capable of committing such solid villainies, more suitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or the silence and thoughtfulness of an Italian: unless it be, that in a nation naturally so full of themselves, and of so restless imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy constitution, that huddle of confused thoughts, for want of evaporating, usually terminates in rage and despair. D'Avila observes, that Jacques Clement was a sort of buffoon, whom the rest of the friars used to make sport with; but at last giving his folly a serious turn, it ended in enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate act of murdering his king."

I suppose because of the old connection and friendship between Scotland and France, Swift placed Scotchmen in the same category as Frenchmen, and meted out to them a generous measure of his scorn and sarcasm. He regarded the Scotch as foreigners, and virulently assailed the Act of Union, expecting nothing but harm to accrue to England from such an unhallowed alliance. He devoted a short poem to the subject in which he writes :—

"Blessed Revolution! which creates
Divided hearts, united states."

But in "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" Swift fairly surpasses himself in his anxiety to pulverise Steele, the author of the "Crisis," the Whig pamphlet to which he is replying. "Their (Scotch) nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them, according to the dignity of their titles; and, what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct until the last period of all things; because the greatest part of them descend to heirs general. * * * Scotland, in taxes, is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty-pence laid upon England; and the representatives they send to parliament are about a thirteenth. * * * The pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country now among us do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; and all the money they raise upon the public is hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. I could point out some, with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union, although their whole revenues, before that period, would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of peace; and have since gathered more money than ever any Scotchman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of." Here Swift alludes to John, Duke of Argyle, and the passage did not escape the notice of authorities. The Scotch peers hinted at lost no time in approaching Queen Anne to have the writer of the obnoxious paragraph prosecuted for a scurrilous libel. As usual in the case of Swift, nothing was done.

I have just referred to Steele and that one-time famous pamphlet of his called "The Crisis." Swift's reply is animated by something more than bitter party feeling. There is the intensest personal animosity bristling in every line, if not in every word. No opportunity is neglected to heap insults on Steele, his views, his style, his grammar, his character, his debts, and his politics. Here we have mud-slinging *par excellence.* "Mr. Steele," to quote from another pamphlet entitled "The Importance of the Guardian Considered," "is author of two tolerable plays, or at least of the greatest part of them; which, added to the company he kept, and to the continual conversation and friendship of Mr. Addison, has given him the character of a wit. To take the height of his learning, you are to suppose a lad just fit for the university, and sent early from thence in the wide world, where he followed every way of life that might least improve, or preserve the rudiments he had got. He has no invention, nor is master of a tolerable style; his chief talent is humour, which he sometimes discovers in writing and discourse; for, after the first bottle, he is no disagreeable companion. I never knew him taxed with ill nature, which has made me wonder how ingratitude came to be his prevailing vice; and I am apt to think it proceeds more from some unaccountable sort of instinct than premeditation. Being the most imprudent man alive, he never follows the advice of his friends, but is wholly at the mercy of fools or knaves, or hurried away by his own caprice; by which he has committed more absurdities in economy, friendship, love, duty, good manners, politics, religion, and writing, than ever fell to one man's share. He was appointed gazetteer by Mr. Harley (then Secretary of

State) at the recommendation of Mr. Maynwaring, with a salary of three hundred pounds; was a commissioner of stamped paper, of equal profit; and had a pension of a hundred pounds per annum, as a servant to the late Prince George."

Originally Swift had been the friend of Addison and Steele. They were all Whigs, and Swift contributed some numbers to Steele's papers. The name of Bickerstaff had been made famous by Swift before Steele borrowed it; but when Swift ceased to be a Whig, the exigencies of the political situation made friendship with Addison difficult, and utterly impossible in the case of Steele. The motives for Swift's change of political front have been variously described. Some say it was because the Whig administration denied him preferment in the Church, and that he went over to the Tories when Harley returned to power and promised Swift his help. A more charitable view, and Swift's own account, is that the Whigs receded from their principles. Swift was essentially a Churchman and the indefatigable champion of the rights and privileges of the clergy. During the wars of Marlborough he found the Whigs becoming daily more and more identified with the dissenters and with the monied interests, or war profiteers, as we should now call them. Any encroachment on the prerogatives of the Church was stoutly combated by Swift till he found himself by virtue of his Church politics in the heart of the Tory camp, the confidante of Harley and St. John, the redoubtable advocate of the change of ministry which preceded the fall and disgrace of Marlborough. His was one of the most vigorous intellects of that time. Literature had espoused the cause of party to the neglect of the muses, and Swift's was the most trenchant pen of the day, dipped, as it was, in gall and vitriol. He was the man Harley was looking for to buttress the fabric of the new administration, and for four years the genius of Jonathan Swift was devoted to production of political pamphlets on the Tory side.

Conscious of the ambiguity of his position and that his motives were open to misunderstanding, Swift in No. 43 of the *Examiner* is at great pains to define the terms Whig and Tory, and to show "that the two fantastic names of Whig and Tory have at present very little relation to those opinions, which were at first thought to distinguish them." To him a Whig is a man who is in favour of the continuation of the war, who supports Marlborough and his party, who has made money out of the war, and who is opposed to the Church. It follows that a Tory clamours for a cessation of hostilities, and the conclusion of a just and honourable peace for England. A Tory is a champion of the Church and State, and even of the Protestant succession. Swift's political pamphlets, therefore, revolve round three topics, the change of ministry, the Peace of Utrecht, the position of the House of Hanover. The first, according to Swift, was in the interests of the country, and the Queen was more than justified in dismissing the Marlborough family and sending for Harley. The second was essential to lift the load of taxation pressing upon the people, and to restore our disordered finances. When dealing with the third question Swift repudiates with warmth the allegation of the Whigs that the Tories were working for the restoration of James II and his son, and disavows with disdain on behalf of his party the Pretender, Papacy, and arbitrary power.

It is always interesting and instructive for later generations to read contemporary accounts of men, whose position in History has been fixed. Swift's attempts to belittle the Duke of Marlborough make one smile. The writer could think of nothing but the Duke's usurpation of power and inordinate love of money. A casual reference to Walpole before the days of that minister's pre-eminence, is not without interest. "The Commons," writes Swift, in his History of the Last Four Years of the Queen, "began their examination of the report with a member of their own, Mr. Robert Walpole, already mentioned p. 41; who, during his being secretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the queen's troops quartered in Scotland. He endeavoured to excuse the first contract; but had nothing to say about the second. The first appeared so plain and so scandalous to the Commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption, committed him prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the end of the session, and expelled him the House. He was a man much caressed by the opposers of the queen and ministry; having been first drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept steady by the loss of his place. His bold, forward countenance, altogether a stranger to that infirmity which makes men bashful, joined to a readiness of speaking in public, has justly entitled him among those of his faction, to be a sort of leader in the second form. The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one, who is otherwise altogether *obscure*." Later on Swift returned to the attack in his verse and refers to Walpole as Sir Robert Brass or Sir Bob.

> "I knew a brazen minister of state,
> Who bore for twice ten years the public hate.
> In every mouth the question most in vogue
> Was, when will they turn out this odious rogue?
> A juncture happen'd in his highest pride;
> While he went robbing on, his master died."

The most pleasing of the pen portraits are those of Harley and St. John. Swift loved and admired both. Of the two he had more sympathy with Harley. Their quarrels and dissensions distressed him. He did his best to compose their differences, but failed to achieve success. St. John admitted to Swift that he knew their quarrels were ruining the ministry, and hastened to add that he would rather ruin the ministry than oblige Harley. After a last final effort to effect a reconciliation, Swift in characteristic fashion retired into Berkshire to await the crash. When his worst fears were realised and Swift had leisure to look back calmly on the days gone by and the friends in exile or the Tower, he traced their several qualities with a judicious, if somewhat partial, hand.

"The Earl of Oxford is a person of as much virtue as can possibly consist with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his superior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it less after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only instance that ever fell within my memory or observation, of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceivable impression upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illustrious, being descended from the heirs general of the Veres and the Mortimers, so he seemed to value that accidental advantage in himself and others more than it could pretend to deserve. He abounded in good nature and good humour; although subject to passion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himself; which, however, he kept under the strictest government, till toward the end of his ministry, when he began to grow soured, and to suspect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of wit and learning, particularly the former; whom he caressed without distinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies: and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be so; at least if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets published against him, which he frequently read, by way of amusement, with a most unaffected indifference: neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion so much, as by appearing uneasy when the dealers in that kind of writing first began to pour out their scurrilities against me; which he thought a weakness altogether inexcusable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have anywhere met with; was a perfect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a most exact judgment. In drawing up any state-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in so strong and clear a light. Although his style was not always correct, which, however, he knew to mend; yet often, to save time, he would leave the smaller alterations to others. I have heard that he spoke seldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: but no man equalled him in the knowledge of our constitution; the reputation whereof made him the chosen speaker to three successive parliaments; which office, I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause; his sagacity was such, that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: and one or two others in the ministry have confessed very often to me, that, having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themselves in the wrong. He was utterly a stranger to fear; and consequently had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality and contempt of money were such, that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the representations of others, except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any

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expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or profane. His imperfections were at least as obvious, although not so numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one: and I rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better: of which, among others, the late Earl of Sunderland, and the present Lord Somers, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances; who used to talk in so frank a manner, that they seemed to discover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would easily unlock the breasts of others. But the Earl of Oxford pleads, in excuse of this charge, that he has seldom or never communicated anything which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he has not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to. Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination or delay: which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and minister better matched than his sovereign and he upon that article: and, therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewise heavily charged with the common court vice, of promising very liberally, and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet I am confident his intentions were generally better than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand, the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe, that those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt or dislike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation. I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth."

"It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune as the late Secretary Bolingbroke: descended from the best families in England, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: but all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely inferior in degree to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God has yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men; a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study; the latter of which he seldom omitted even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer: for, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperence in wine, which he did, for some time, to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious; yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof I have reason to believe he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account, he had a great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, especially the latter, whom he would be gladly thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him, and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at, in a man of his temper, was his prodigious application whenever he thought it necessary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in public, for which he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but understanding men of both parties have assured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled."

Then Swift brings them together once more and arrives at these conclusions. "This minister (Harley) had stronger passions than the secretary, but kept them under stricter government. My Lord Bolingbroke was of a frank and open nature; and as men of great genius are superior to common rules he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity or lightness. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more, in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation."

Writing in 1754 Lady Mary Wortly Montagu said that Pope and Swift "were entitled by their birth and fortune to be only a couple of link boys." As Hazlitt points out, theirs was the triumph of genius over birth and fortune; but even birth and fortune were no protection against the caustic criticism of Lady Mary. She had just read over the works of Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, in 1754, and after severely trouncing Swift's friend in a long letter, sums up in these words. "I own I have small regard for Lord Bolingbroke as an author, and the highest contempt for him as a man. He came into the world greatly favoured both by nature and fortune, blest with a noble birth, heir to a large estate, endowed with a strong constitution, and as I have heard, a beautiful figure, high spirits, a good memory and a lively apprehension, which was cultivated by a learned education: all these glorious advantages being left to the direction of a judgment stifled by unbounded vanity, he dishonoured his birth, lost his estate, ruined his reputation, and destroyed his health, by a wild pursuit of eminence even in vice and trifles."

Such is the effect of political prejudices on even the keenest intellects of any day. To Swift Bolingbroke was a little lower than the angels; to Lady Mary he was not much above the brute beasts. But these very prejudices, which warp the judgment from the point of view of history, make Swift and Lady Mary really interesting, and attract us to peruse their pages with pleasure and even sympathy, when the impartial page of history leaves us cold.

J. H. MAXWELL

EARLY REVENUE HISTORY OF BENGAL

(1757-1772)

With the exception of parts of the country held as jagirs by officers or as fiefs by such local chiefs as it was politic to recognise, direct dealing with the ryots formed the cardinal feature of the Mughal revenue system. When the Mughal power was strong, it did not countenance any farming of revenue. But in Bengal, that system could not be dispensed with, to a very considerable extent, even by Akbar and his three immediate successors. It was difficult to adopt the ryotwari system in Lower and Eastern Bengal, where the lands being subject to frequent alluvium and diluvium, no accurate records of rights could long be maintained, and hence some kind of farming of land revenue could not be avoided. As Seton-Karr writes, "in Lower Bengal, more perhaps than in any other province of India, the most unexpected changes are wrought by the tremendous force of its streams, bringing down a yellow flood in the rainy season. A vast body of water cuts through natural obstacles; sweeps away whole villages, corrodes and absorbs half or the whole of an estate; inundates large tracts and disappears in the month of October, to leave behind it a fresh alluvial soil, from which every familiar landmark has disappeared, while the bewildered owners make vague guesses at the outlines of their former possessions." [1]

The farming system was the special resource of governments in their decline, and from the beginning of the reign of

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[1] As observed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the recent case of *Srināth* v. *Dinabandhu*, 1(914) 41 I.A. 221, "In the deltaic frea of Lower Bengal, change is almost normal in the river systems, and changes occur rarely by slow degrees, and often with an almost cataclysmal suddenness." [For this foot-note I am indebted to a lawyer friend.]

Farruk-siyar it became very common, not only in Bengal but also in other parts of the Mughal Empire. "Then it was that besides the Rajahs, chiefs and ancient grantees who had a real hold over the country and were already spoken of as the Zamindars, other classes of persons," speculators, Court favourites and government officials who were employed as collectors of revenue, also began to be called zamindars. The title of the first class of zamindars was naturally hereditary. They paid their land revenue to the State in the form of a fixed annual tribute. But the position of a zamindar of the latter class was different. His office was at first not hereditary. Originally, he was bound to account for all he collected from the ryots. He was to pay in all his collections to the government less a certain percentage, usually 10 per cent. But with the gradual weakness of the Mughal power, he became a mere contractor for a fixed sum, a revenue farmer,[1] with practically hereditary right and was able to make his own terms with the ryots.

Thus, during the first half of the eighteenth century, a heterogeneous body of persons, from semi-independent chiefs to mere revenue collectors, began to be called zamindars who paid lump sums to the State every year, representing very imperfectly the revenue assessment of their zamindaries. They were therefore in a sense farmers of revenue. But this old race of revenue farmers, unlike the new race which came into power under early British rule, did not generally oppress the ryots. Many of them practically enjoyed hereditary rights to their zamindaries and therefore had a permanent interest in the welfare of their ryots.

It should also be noted that with the single exception of Murshid Quli, all the Nawabs of Bengal who ruled during the first half of the eighteenth century, did not squeeze the zamindars, who were, therefore, not driven to squeeze the tenants in their turn. It is true that *abwabs* which were first *openly* imposed by Murshid Quli, were considerably increased by his successors, till in the time of Aliverdi Khan the total amount[1] of *abwabs* demanded by the Nawab reached Rs. 43,98,506. There is no doubt that this increase of *abwabs* by increasing the state demand as well as by introducing an uncertain element in it, caused some oppression on the ryots. But "in pre-British times there was no eviction for default, no starvation of the peasantry (except when there was a local famine with no communication with the more fruitful parts of the country.) ....In those days...the peasant was also cherished and valued because his landlord had need for him as an armed retainer. Indeed, competition for tenants among the zamindars was the rule and the poorer peasants sometimes escaped from one zamindari to another, in the hope of getting rid of their arrears with the former and of faring better under a new landlord."[2] It should also be noted that the general prosperity of the country in the latter part of Aliverdi's reign, in spite of the temporary set-back caused by the Maratha raids, maintained the ryot's power of producing wealth more or less intact, even if it had not actually increased it.

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[1] Baden-Powell—*The Origin of Zamindari Estates in Bengal*, Quarterly Journal of Economics, October, 1896, pp. 40-42. See also Baden-Powell—*Land Systems of British India*, Vol. I, pp. 507-509.

But after the battle of Plassey began a series of events which materially reduced the ryot's income. The first of these was the invasion of inland trade by the Company's servants and *gomastahs*, who often compelled the ryots to sell their agricultural products at an arbitrarily low price, and to buy their goods at an enhanced price. The extortionate revenue

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[1] *The Fifth Report*, Vol. II, pp. 820 and 139. *Abwabs* levied by the Nawabs of Bengal from 1722 to 1755 A. D. :—

	Rs.
(*a*) By Murshid Quli Khan	258, 857
(*b*) Additional impositions by Shujah Khan	1, 914, 095
(*c*) " " " Aliverdi Khan... ...	2, 225, 554.
Total amount of abwabs levied at the time of Aliverdi	4, 398, 506.

[2] Sarkar—*Mughal Administration*, pp. 105-106.

demand of Mir Kasim caused considerable oppression on the ryots. The decline of the weaving industry also impoverished many ryots who had derived a supplementary income from it. Thus when the Dewani was granted in 1765, the ryots were already suffering from economic distress. Under such a state of things it was evident that even any moderate revenue which could formerly have been collected with ease, must have now become a rack-rent[1] and caused oppression on the ryots.

But the revenue collected after the grant of the Dewani was larger[2] than what was ever collected in Aliverdi Khan's time, when the country was in a flourishing condition. The mode of collecting the revenue was no less objectionable than the amount of revenue collected. " When the English received the grant of the Dewani, their first consideration seems to have been the raising of as large sums from the country as could be collected, to answer the pressing demands from home and to defray large expenses here." The zamindars who were unable to pay the sums demanded, were dispossessed of the management of their lands. People of lower rank were therefore employed as *amils* or collectors for most[3] of the districts. These amils, agreed to pay a fixed sum for the districts from which they were to collect revenue, and the man who offered the largest sum, was generally appointed amil. Thus the system of collection through amils was nothing but a system of annual farming of the revenue to the highest bidder. It is needless to say that these amils had no natural interest, like the zamindars, in the welfare of the ryots, because they had no certainty of holding their posts beyond the year. Their best recommendation for confirmation in their posts in subsequent years was the punctual payment of their *kists* (instalments of revenue) to the government. They, therefore, imposed fresh *abwabs* on the ryots when the rents realised from them proved insufficient. Some of the amils were not even punctual in paying their *kists*. Their only aim was to extort as much as they could and pay as little as possible to the government. Thus they plundered the people and defrauded the government at the same time. The poor ryots had no redress against the rapacity of the amils, who were practically under no check[1] during the tenure of their appointment. Many ryots therefore fled from their homes in despair, to swell the ranks of the unemployed landless labourers.

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[1] Francis's Minute of January 22, 1776.

[2] Becher's letter of May 24, 1769.

[3] The revenue administration of the districts ceded by Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim was however slightly better than that of the districts granted by the Dewani. But even in the ceded districts the farming system was at first attended with disastrous results. Referring to the ceded district of Burdwan, Verelst writes that a plan adopted in 1762 was productive of certain ruin to the district. " The lands were let by public auction for the short term of three years. Men without fortune or character became bidders at the sale ; and while some of the former farmers, unwilling to relinquish their habitations, exceeded perhaps the real value in their offers, those who had nothing to lose, advanced yet further, wishing to all events to obtain an immediate possession. Thus numberless harpies were let loose to plunder, whom the spoil of a miserable people enabled to complete their first year's payment." When Verelst was appointed supevisor of Burdwan in 1765, he described the existing revenue system of the district in the following terms.—" It appeared that on the second sale for three years, bidders had been found for little more than two-fifths of the land, the most beneficial of which were held in different names by the officers of government and banyans of European gentlemen. The remainder, under the denomination of coss (khas) fell into the hands of collectors who oppressed the people, bringing what they pleased to account."

This tendency of the ryots to sink into the position of landless labourers, increased on account of the rigorous collection of land revenue during the great famine of 1770. The net collection of revenue in 1770-1771, during the first six months of the year in which the famine was in its most acute stage, exceeded the collection of the previous year by more than seven lacs of rupees. During the year 1771-1772 the revenue collected exceeded that of 1770-1771 by about fifteen lacs[1] of rupees. This was mainly due to the imposition of the *najay* tax on the existing cultivators, to make up for the rents due from their neighbours who were either dead or had fled from the country. The effect of this tax was to cause the few remaining ryots in a depopulated village to take to flight, rather than face the extortion. But the famine of 1770 ultimately proved a blessing in disguise to the tenants who survived its ravages. Before the outbreak of the famine, the tenants were in many cases at the mercy of the landlords. But after the famine, there was more land than tenants, and each landlord began to attract[2] the tenants of his neighbours, by offering lower rents. Though the position of the tenants thus improved, the position of the landlords was changed for the worse. Burdened with the heavy demand of land revenue, the old aristocracy of Bengal was faced with impending ruin. To quote a glaring instance, "the Maharaja of Burdwan...died miserably towards the end of the famine, leaving a treasury so empty that the heir had to melt down the family plate, and when this was exhausted, to beg a loan from the Government, in order to perform his father's obsequies."[3] The economic distress of the old aristocratic houses of Nadia, Natore, Birbhum and Bishnupur dates also from this period.

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[1] The only effective check to the oppression of the revenue farmers was the metayage (or *batai*) system. The ryots holding land under this system, could evade "cutting down the crops till their oppressors should be reduced to terms or taking advantage of the night, they would steal grain sufficient for their own subsistence." But the ryots of the specie-paying lands had no such advantage, and they suffered most during the early days of the Company's rule and in consequence abandoned the cultivation of such lands in many places. It may also be noted here that though the custom of paying rent in kind was not given up immediately after the grant of the Dewani, the tendency under the British rule has always been to substitute money rent for rent in kind.

JOGISCHANDRA SINHA

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[1] The above figures refer to the total revenue of Bengal and Bihar.

Year.		Net collections of Bengal. Rs.		Net collections of Bengal and Bihar. Rs.
1768-69	...	152,54,856	...	265,99,0[illegible]5
1769-70	...	131,49,148	...	233,44,8[illegible]7
1770-71	...	140,06,030	...	240,84,5[illegible]9
1771-72	...	153,33,660	...	255,12,0[illegible]9

Referring to the rigorous collection of land revenue in Bengal proper, Sir William Hunter observes "not five per cent. of the land tax was remitted, and ten per cent. was added to it for the ensuing year (1770-71)."

[2] It is interesting to note that after the Black Death in England in 1348-49, the Lords of the Manors began also to entice labour from other manors, by offering better conditions of work.

Hunter—Annals of Rural Bengal, p. 57.

VENGEANCE IS MINE

CHAPTER XX

ENTRAPPED

Ranubha came back with the cigar case and handed it over to Jasubha. Jasubha lighted one with steady fingers. The experience of the last twenty-four hours, had given a new zest to his life. All these plots and political intrigues and all this struggle of such clever people around and about himself made him wish to take part in these troubles himself. By nature he was fond of ease and pleasure, for he had been brought up in the lap of luxury; but to-day for the first time he experienced pleasure in activity.

Being always accustomed to do exactly what he pleased, he had instinctively refused to grant the Swami's request. Revashankar besides had become such a natural part of his surroundings that he could scarce imagine how the world would look without him. The inspiring presence of Anantanand had also had its effect upon him; it had aroused the warrior spirit latent in Jasubha. "I will show this Swami that Jasubha Solanki is not a coward," he murmured quietly in his usual tone; but the habitual drawl of indifference was absent from his voice.

"Ranu, we are nicely trapped! "

"What do you mean? " exclaimed Ranubha, busy with his own thoughts.

"What a fool you are! Where are your wits to-day?"

"No, your Highness, I am quite attentive."

"Just now there was a stiff breeze between me and that Swami of yours."

"Oh! How so?" asked Ranubha; he was eager to know more on hearing the Swami's name.

"He wants to be a Richlieu. He wanted me to dismiss Revashankar and I refused."

Ranubha also had the same idea. Was not Anantanand striving for power? But that hardly mattered to him now, for he had done with his world.

"Did he wish to be the Divan?"

"No, he wanted you to take up that post."

"Me?"

"Yes. And he told me that he would not allow me to stir from here until I consented."

"What does he mean?"

"That we are close prisoners here, that's all," replied Jasubha quite calmly.

Ranubha looked out from the gallery. Then quietly with a gesture he drew Jasubha's attention to what he saw.

"I see. Here is a troop collecting." Jasubha saw several troops of the Varat soldiers going about. Night had fallen but lights had been lighted and he could see clearly.

"Now I remember. I had seen a troop near the monastery also. I paid no attention to it then."

"What shall we do now?"

"What could the Swami do? He is just trying some friendly pressure," Ranubha said. A part of his mental suffering was assuaged now. The second object of his life was faithful service of his Prince. He found now a way out of all his trouble. If the Prince was made captive he would fight to the death; he would kill as many of his foes as he could and then meet the glorious death of a warrior. This would be the finest answer to the perjury of Anantanand and Champa. He always carried his sword with him and now his hand instinctively felt for the hilt.

"You can't say for certain: the Swami is not an easy person to deal with."

"But are we any the less brave? Sire, we are two but enough for two hundred."

"Yes, my back, too, is up. I think we may teach your Swami a lesson."

"I am ready whenever you choose to command me. These villagers should also learn what it means to keep you under observation."

"Ranu, it seems as if the old days have come back. What fun if Revashankar were here."

Ranubha remained quiet. His was a brave spirit. And when the call came for firm action and the troubles (self-invited) of his unrequited love were over, he saw but one aim in life. Whosever he be, were he Anantanand himself, — he was to be removed in order to free Jasubha. He bit his lips and stood ready to draw his sword.

Atmanand came in and pressed the button for the electric light.

"Prince, the Naib Divan is below and requests admission for a private interview."

"Ranu, here is another."

"Let him come, I am just waiting behind the door outside the room. Just see his ways."

"Jasubha sat down and calmly lighted his cigar. "Admit him," he ordered.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIRST GAME.

Like the rest of the Prince's retinue Raghubhai, too, had gone his own way. Jasubha had introduced into his court the simple manners of a country gentleman and he never had insisted upon a certain number of his attendants accompanying him. So they had all scattered to see the town. And Raghubhai had returned with slow steps to his bungalow. There he found a man waiting for him.

"Well Ranchod, is everything ready?"

"Yes, Sir. Pestonji Seth has himself come over to Talod and has brought about twenty-five men with him. He is now about a mile and half from here."

"Very well. Now just call Mana Nayak."

Mana Nayak entered.

"Mana, you have been very faithful uptil now. God willing the next twenty-four hours shall see us both in a much higher position. You have to be very careful at this moment."

"Yes, Sir."

"The Maharaja has gone into the monastery. Keep three horses ready near the gateway on the river. The horses should be strong, for upon them will depend our lives."

"Never fear, Sir. About what time?"

"At about nine." And then he dismissed Mana Nayak.

Raghubhai once again examined his hand He felt that he was now crowning all his attempts of all these years. He would never get a better chance. Jasubha was alone and far from his usual advisors and to-day he seemed to be inclined to attend more to business than to pleasure. Besides Anantanand was sure to take some decisive step; but he could not guess what. Surely he was not a man to invite the Prince there and to take all this trouble for nothing. What other motive could he have? There had long been bad blood between Raghubhai and the Swami. Would he try to imprison the Prince and put another on the throne? That was not impossible. But there was no inkling of that at the British Residency. He was very much afraid lest he should play Raghbhai's own game. If the Swami by hook or by crook obtained the dismissal of Revashankar—what then? Who else could be the Divan but himself, Raghubhai? And if this came to pass, the secret he had been at so great trouble to obtain would lose half its value. Then the Bawa alone would be all-powerful. But did he know the secret at all? That was very doubtful. Raghubhai felt sure he did not; else why should he have sat quiet all these years, when he could have dethroned Jasubha with a mere word. So, on the whole, to-day was the time. He must show his cards and win the game. He had decided and he got up.

Outside his sharp eye detected the movement of some troops near the monastery. He smelt some plot and he thought fate was playing into his hands, for Jasubha would henceforth be bound to him more than ever. Raghubhai had found upon inquiry that from half past seven Anantanand had gone to carry spiritual consolation to the deathbed of an old man. So this was the precise time for action, for even the Swami would not be able to interfere just then.

Raghubhai arrived at the monastery and was considerably relieved to learn that Anantanand had not yet returned. He hurriedly entered and enquired if Jasubha was in, and Anantanand immediately took him upstairs.

"Well, Sire, any orders?"

None could have guessed from the looks of Jasubha that he was at all aware of the extreme danger of his position. He gave his usual indifferent laugh.

"Raghubhai, where had you been so long?"

"Sir, we have to start again to-morrow morning and I was busy preparing for the journey."

Jasubha remained silent. Raghubhai boldly took the plunge.

"I have come to Your Highness upon an urgent matter."

"At this moment?" he asked with a coolness that made Raghubhai shiver.

"Yes, Sir. We are at this moment in the hands of the enemy."

"Enemy! What enemy can a tributary Prince of the British Empire have?" Jasubha pretended complete ignorance.

"Sir, at the present moment you are under strict guard, our lives are in danger. I could come to you only at great risk."

"But who should keep guard upon us? Raghubhai, have you lost your head?" Jasubha cried pointing at his head.

"No, Sire," Raghubhai was now quite sure the Prince suspected nothing. "Anantanand at present wishes to keep you prisoner here. There are armed troops all around. I have myself seen them. Anantanand has been hatching a deep plot."

"But why? What could he gain thereby? If he imprisons me he risks his life."

"No, Sire. He will be the Ruler instead."

"How?"

"Your Highness, it is a secret the Bawa possesses. One knowing that secret could shake your throne itself."

Jasubha understood that this rogue had waited his opportunity and had come now to play his game. But he remained cool and collected. Ranubha outside admired his courage.

"Then it is indeed strange that none has shaken it as yet. Very well, I shall see about it when the Swami comes back."

His coolness puzzled Raghubhai. "Your Highness, it is no use waiting for the Swami's return. He has gone out. I have horses ready at the back gate. I am only anxious that you should come with me."

"Certainly, come along. Let us go to the bungalow and rest there. I have no objection."

"Not so, Maharaja, we must get away from here beyond the limits of Varat. We shall be out of this town in five minutes. You do not know this Anantanand. If roused he is a very Shiva for destruction."

"So you mean to say that I should run away like a craven."

"No, Sir. In a few hours more you shall return victorious. I have arranged for everything."

"Is that so? Nothing could be better!" cried Jasubha getting up. "When you have found a way out, why waste any time?"

"Maharaja! Just one moment. This is not the time for false flattery. You can hardly guess the risk I am running. When you are back safe in Ratnagadh, what shall be my reward?"

Jasubha started again. This rascal was trying to make terms with him. Calmly he sat back in his chair and said in his coolest manner:

"I only expect faithful service from an old servant. The master may give what he chooses in the future: it is not for the servant to ask."

"Then pardon me, Sire, you do not know at present what the other side is ready to offer to me. Anantanand will be willing to give anything I demand for keeping my counsel in regard to the secret I have discovered."

"Very well, then sell your secret to him. I have already paid you overmuch—far beyond your salary—by shutting my eyes to all the bribes you have taken."

"Maharaja, I know all that: but that was in return for my services. Do you realise that I have the power utterly to destroy your fortune by a mere whisper? You will understand the gravity of the matter when I tell you of it."

"What is it?"

"Shall I tell you? Yes, I will. *You* are not the rightful heir to the throne of Ratnagadh, but someone else."

"Who?"

"How can I give the name? But all this plotting is for him. Anantanand has a great object to serve in all this."

"And at what price are you willing to part with this secret?"

"Make me the Divan, and deport Anantanand."

Jasubha laughed loud and heartily. Within a couple of hours the two men had made the identical demand: but yet what a difference! The first had demanded with all the dignity of a God, and this one with the cringing spirit of a born slave. Jasubha shut his lips tight to keep down the rising contempt that he felt.

"And do you not demand my deportation as well?"

"Sir, this is not the time for joking. If you cannot agree, the secret remains mine. But you shall rue it;" Raghubhai felt the game slipping from his hands: but there was no turning back now.

"My faithless Naib Divan, you see that door? It is open for you. Jasubha Solanki does not talk to ungrateful curs. He would rather die at the hands of Anantanand than be saved by such a cringing knave like you. Ranu!"

"Sir," said Ranubha entering.

"If this wretch stays here a minute longer, sever his head from his body." Jasubha said this without the slightest excitement just as if he was making an ordinary observation. He took out another cigar from the case.

A dangerous gleam in the eye of Ranubha made Raghubhai rush out of the room at top speed.

(*To be continued.*)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

"ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE RICE EXPORT TRADE"

[A REPLY TO "SALBURD."]

[I have read with interest Salburd's article on the " Economic Aspect of the Rice Export Trade " published in the March Number of the *Calcutta Review*. I venture to think, however, that some of his statements should not pass unchallenged. Salburd's thesis is divided into three parts. Firstly, he tries to show by means of elaborate calculations that the annual production of rice in India is hardly enough to meet the requirements of her internal consumption. Secondly, as a proof of the truth of this proposition he adduces the fact that the area under rice cultivation has increased considerably in recent years and the price of rice has gone up higher and higher. Thirdly, he concludes that since India possesses no exportable surplus, Government should not allow unrestricted export trade in rice. I propose to deal with these points, one by one.]

I

Let me make it clear at the outset that I do not want to assert here that India has an absolute amount of what is known as "exportable surplus" in rice. There may be, and there is, perhaps, a shortage of foodsupply in India; but the data on which Salburd bases his calculations are insufficient. We see poverty and starvation around us. Food prices often rise so high that a large section of the poor people are denied adequate nourishment. The fact is obvious that the total supply of rice in India is not sufficient to meet both her internal and external needs. We can assert this from our everyday experience. We need not ask the help of the statistician to prove it. In ordinary conversation we do not aim at precision—we make only vague, sweeping statements largely based on our limited experience and conjecture. But when we abandon the viewpoint of the

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man in the street and take up the attitude of a scientific enquirer, we must aim at accuracy and precision. In any quantitative analysis of the supply of and demand for rice, the scientific enquirer must be thoroughly accurate in his calculations; he cannot rely on the superficial view of the phenomena but must needs go into the root of the matter. Guesswork and rough approximation do not always give an index to truth—nay, they sometimes mislead us positively.

'Salburd' has ransacked the publications of the Government of India to find out "the quantity of rice required in 1920 for the consumption of the rice-eating population of India." With all honour to his energetic endeavours, I am unable to believe that his calculations have been free from defects. 'Salburd' has relied entirely on Government Reports for his calculations. There is an inherent defect in them. Government statistics regarding the yield of crops are never accurate. Often they are mere guesswork. The Government itself admit this. Thus, regarding the method of preparing estimates of crop yields in Bengal the Government Report says "In the absence of any revenue agency in the province, the figures are based mainly on rough approximate estimates made by the District Officers and are more or less *conjectural.*" Of course the Government in recent years are making efforts to make their estimates as correct as possible; but even now the statistics have not reached such a standard of precision as to enable serious economists to base their arguments entirely on them. But assuming, for the present, that in the absence of better substitutes, we must reply on Government Reports, the use 'Salburd' has made of them does not seem to me to be free from defects. His estimates of the rice-eating population outside Bengal seem to be grossly exaggerated. In his estimates of the total rice-eating population, Salburd leaves out of account the Native States and Burma. His estimates of the demand for and supply of rice seem thus to be applicable only to the "nine rice provinces." But strangely enough in his estimate of the total rice production presented on page 451, he has included the figures for Burma and the Native States as well. Under the circumstances the sentence "It seems, therefore, that but for the relief which Burma rice gives to the people of India, the consequence would have been disastrous" seems mysterious.

There seem to be some defects in the calculations presented on page 449. The total rice-eating population, according to 'Salburd,' was about 172·6 million in 1911. Taking the census figures for 1911 and accepting 'Salburd's' proportion of rice-eating population in the different provinces, I find on my own calculations that the total rice-eating population in "the nine rice provinces" cannot exceed 164 millions in 1911. The calculations are shown below:—

Name of Province.		Total Population (In millions.)	Proportion of Rice-eaters.	Total Rice-eating Population.
Madras	...	41·5	1/1	41·50
Bombay	...	16·0	1/2	8·00
Sind	...	3·5	2/3	2·67
Bengal	...	45·5	1/1	45·50
U. P.	...	47·0	1/3	15·66
Bihar, Orissa	...	34·5	1/1	34·50
C. P. & Berar	...	14·0	5/8	8·75
Assam	...	6·75	1/1	6·75
Coorg	...	·18	1/1	·18
			Total	163·51

Thus while in some cases 'Salburd' has overestimated the demand of rice for internal consumption, in others he has omitted to take note of a considerable amount of demand (*e.g.*, that of the Native States and Burma which has a large rice-eating population). In order to get at a true state of things, we should calculate, on the one hand, all the sources of supply within India, and on the other should enumerate all the factors of demand. Certainly, 'Salburd' does not intend 'the nine rice provinces' to constitute a self-sufficient sisterhood. If I have understood him aright, he wants to find out as to whether India as a whole does produce enough rice to meet all her internal and external demands.

II

Let us now proceed to consider the second part of 'Salburd's' thesis. He says that "owing to the increase of population and the increasing demand for rice not only in India but in foreign countries as well, the area under paddy cultivation is gradually extending year after year." The following figures have been quoted in support of the statement :—

Years.	Average Acreage (Millions).
1906-10	56·05
1911-15	70·25
1916-20	79·51

The figures disclose almost phenomenal increase in the area under rice-crop—an increase, which, considering that India is an old country with lacking virgin soil, seems to be rather surprising. But a little scrutiny reveals the statement to be a jugglery in statistics. To show this, I quote the following annual figures from the "Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India, 1919-20."

Years.	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15.
Area under Rice in acres (000 omitted)	61,078	65,222	71,837	76,000	77,121

Years.	1916-17.	1917-18.	1918-19.	1919-20.
Area under Rice in acres (000 omitted)	80,225	80,342	77,019	78,245

We find very big differences between the first four figures. But they show only an *apparent* increase in the area under rice cultivation; in reality there was no *real* increase. In earlier years, the Government, in collecting statistics, could not get any estimates for the smaller areas and it was not infrequently that even larger provinces were entirely left out of account. Only gradually have the statistics been made more and more comprehensive. This fact explains fully the *apparent* increase in the figures from 1910 to 1914. Thus (*i*) the increase in the acreage from 1910-11 to 1911-12 is explained fully by the inclusion of figures for the United Provinces, (*ii*) the increase from 1911-12 to 1912-13 is explained fully by the inclusion of figures for Bombay, Sind (minus Native States), and Upper Burma, (*iii*) the increase from 1912-13 to 1913-14 is explained fully by the inclusion of figures for the Central Provinces, Baroda and the Native States of Sind.

During the war period, the area under rice cultivation fluctuated from year to year owing to speculative conditions. The average area was 78 million acres. This shows only a slight increase over the pre-war figure, which can easily be explained by the abnormal conditions of demand during the war. So it is not correct to say that "the area under paddy has been gradually extending year after year." In the pre-war quinquennium, such increase as we found was due to manipulation of figures. There had actually been no increase.

In explaining the general level of prices, 'Salburd' has thought it fit to differ from Mr. K. L. Datta. One fails, however, to discover any novelty in the causes he has adduced. His 'causes' are virtually those described by Mr. Datta. The difference lies only in language. Cause (2) of 'Salburd' may be included under (1) of Mr. Datta and causes (1) and (3) of the former are practically the same as the cause (4) of the latter. Increase in currency media is admitted to be a cause by both. But in explaining the nature of inflation and the manner in which it affects the price-level, 'Salburd' has shown very great ingenuity. He seems to think that prices have been artificially raised by the replacement of *cowries* by nickel and silver coins (page 457). The argument is rather curious. We know that the price-level depends on the *number* of the currency units in circulation. It does not matter whether the units consist of gold or silver, or nickel or cowries. It is only the *number* that matters. Those who have ascribed the rise in prices to inflation have always argued that owing to the absence of free coinage the *number* of rupees in circulation has increased without reference to the requirements of trade.

III

Lastly, there remains 'Salburd's' third point to be dealt with. Here we tread on a very difficult and contentious subject. 'Salburd' puts forward a plea for the restriction or even complete prohibition of export. The whole tenour of his argument is directed to this end. Indeed he has very cleverly added the saving clause "In favourable years when bumper crops are obtained, export will take place as a matter of course and no intervention is necessary." But what he concedes here with one hand, he takes back with the other. The year 1920 was a good year; but even in that year according to 'Salburd,' there was no 'exportable surplus.' So unless there be some unexpected change in India's production and consumption of rice, she is not likely to have any 'exportable surplus.' But this is an improbable contingency in the near future. Hence, 'Salburd's' proposal virtually amounts to this: that the Government of India should permanently place an embargo on the export of rice. The adoption of such a policy will, however, lead to nothing else than a defeat of his own intention. It is one thing to control the export of rice in a time of great scarcity; it is another to place a permanent embargo on it. Foodgrains are exported abroad because they command higher price in foreign countries. In times of scarcity, the price of foodgrains are bound to rise within the boundaries of India herself and the margin of profit in the case of foreign export will be reduced *pari passu.* In that case the Government may easily intervene by imposing a *temporary* export duty on rice and other foodgrains. Its only effect will be to divert to the home-market those quantities of foodgrains that were seeking export. Producers will not suffer much loss; because the price of foodgrains within the country are sufficiently high, and the area under rice cultivation will undergo no change since the cultivators know that the export duty is only *temporary.* But if a *permanent* policy of controlling the export of rice be adopted, cultivators will make calculations for the future. The area under rice cultivation will shrink considerably. There is a large class of land in India which can be put to several alternative uses. The principle of substitution will operate and land, that is now used for rice cultivation, will be made to yield jute, rye, or even wheat in some cases.

"As within the country itself," writes 'Salburd,' "the supply is less than the demand in the matter of her principal food product, India can hardly afford to be generous and undertake the task of supplying food to foreign countries." Now, it may be granted that the quantity of rice that remains within India after meeting her foreign demands is not sufficient to satisfy all the needs of her rice-eating population. But does it follow from this that the situation will be improved by putting an embargo on the export of rice? As we have already seen, the only result of such a policy will be to reduce the area under rice cultivation. The situation will remain as it is, or will be even worse. But the problem may be attacked more successfully from two other sides which 'Salburd' has omitted to notice. First, the total quantity of rice production can be increased by the introduction of superior methods of cultivation. This will mean a diminution in price both for the domestic consumer as well as for the foreign purchaser. Secondly, the domestic consumer may be taught to make his demand more 'effective' as compared with that of the foreign purchaser. 'Salburd' has said that "India can hardly afford to be generous." If he thinks that in exporting rice the Indian merchant gives proof of generosity, I must say that he cannot be further wide of the mark. The Indian producer exports his rice abroad because he *cannot afford to be generous* to his famished countrymen; and because he is too eager to snatch at the higher price offered by the foreigner. The Indian producer must have something in exchange of his produce and the real and most effective remedy lies in providing the Indian consumer with the wherewithal to pay.

'Salburd' does not recognise the force of the argument, that an embargo on the export of rice leads to the decrease of prices obtained by the actual cultivator. His argument is this: that if free export of food stuffs be allowed, not only will the price of foodgrains rise, but other prices will rise in sympathy; and Government will demand larger sums in taxation; the cultivator will be a loser in both ways. Assuming, for argument's sake, the truth of his contention, it may still be replied to 'Salburd' that the gain which the cultivators will secure by the rise of foodprices will more than counterbalance any contingent loss that they may suffer from a probable rise in general the level of prices and a probable increase in taxation. Since the cultivators form the overwhelming majority of the people of India, their interests should be safeguarded above all.

There remains the question of the "much despised but indispensable middleman." It is true that in the initial stages of a rise in the price of rice, the middleman may secure the lion's share of profit. But he cannot retain it for any considerable length of time. The extra gain must in the long run be enjoyed by the actual producer.

One more argument before I fiinish. "But in lean years' " says 'Salburd' " when people themselves have not got enough for their own consumption and the masses in their ignorance and impecuniosity, fail to realise the baneful effect of parting with their stock, export should be restricted." According to 'Salburd,' every year is a lean year and so his remarks apply to all the years. 'Salburd' seems to think that the poor cultivator is tempted by the high prices offered to part with his produce and for this he comes to grief at the end. For the sake of clearness, it is better to explain the point a little in detail. There are two classes of farmers or cultivators in India. There is one class who cultivates enough land which yields them sufficient produce to satisfy its actual needs and a surplus is left for sale. There can be no doubt that this class gains absolutely by every rise in the price of their produce. There is a second class of peasants who does not cultivate enough land to yield them even their consumption needs. This is the class of persons whom 'Salburd' seems to have in his mind. He seems to think that they sell out their produce being tempted by the high prices offered. But the sale of produce, with them, is not a matter of choice but of necessity. It is a patent fact that the small cultivator lives on borrowing. As soon as he finishes the harvest, it is necessary for him to sell his produce to repay the *Mahajan.* He has then no time either to think of the future to make provision for a rainy day. He wants money *immediately.* If the price of rice be artificially kept low, it means that the small cultivator must part with a larger quantity of rice to get the necessary amount of money. So it is not correct to say that the high price of corn is an unmixed evil to the poorer peasant.

KSHITISCHANDRA CHOWDHURI

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

[A Reply.]

The June number of the *Calcutta Review* contains an article signed 'Observer,' the writer of which has sought to make it appear that next to Behar, Bengal "pays the least amount of land revenue per head of population" and he then goes on to suggest that the Permanent Settlement should not be regarded as being sacrosanct but should be knocked on the head for "the greatest good of the greatest number." The object of my article is to show that the writer has relied upon a fallacious and misleading test and that Bengal's contribution in the shape of land revenue is not so disproportionately small as the writer imagines. The population test is not the sole test that should be applied but there are other tests and considerations which should not be ignored in arriving at a correct conclusion on the subject. Indeed I shall show that taking everything into consideration, Bengal is really the most heavily taxed province in India.

Taking the figures for 1919-20 I find that the receipts from land revenue of the three Presidencies were :—

	Rs.
Madras	5,97,58,371
Bombay	5,28,37,766
Bengal	3,00,96,527

But certain deductions must be made on account of "charges of District Administration" and "District charges" which were in—

	Rs.
Madras	83,73,922
Bombay	96,72,539
Bengal	30,33,726

So that the net receipts were—

	Rs.
Madras	5,13,84,449
Bombay	4,31,65,227
Bengal	2,70,62,801

Now let us apply the area test exclusive of the Native States. We then find Madras has an area of 141,075 sq. miles.

Bombay	123,541 sq. miles.
Bengal	76,843 „

It will be seen that the area of Madras is little less than double that of Bengal, while Bombay has an area of more than 150 per cent. of that of Bengal. If then the land revenue of Bengal is less than that of Bombay and Madras, the area of Bengal is also less than the respective areas of those two Presidencies, so that the argument that "Bengal pays the least amount of land revenue" falls to the ground. When regard is had to the area of Bengal, its contribution in the shape of land revenue cannot fairly be said to be disproportionately less than that of either of the other two Presidencies.

'Observer' has also failed to take into account the fact that there are no fewer than 30,676 land-revenue-free estates is Bengal, which also partially accounts for the comparative smallness of the receipts from land revenue in this Presidency.

But how stands Bengal in regard to her contribution in regard to the two principal heads of revenue, namely, Income-Tax and Customs? The figures for 1919-20 were as follows:—

	Customs. Rs.	Income Tax. Rs.
Madras	... 1,28,25,915 ...	1,62,35,965
Bombay	... 8,92,30,405 ...	7,26,54,986
Bengal	... 10,18,04,893 ...	9,51,26,337

It will be seen that Bengal's contribution under the head of Customs is nearly eight times that of Madras and exceeds that of Bombay by more than a crore of rupees. It may be argued that the whole of Customs revenue is not exclusively contributed by Bengal but at least partly by consumers resident in adjacent Provinces. But the same remark is equally applicable to Madras and Bombay. As regards those two Provinces a large number of the consumers are resident of the Native States of Hyderabad and Mysore. After this it is clear that so far from Bengal being the most lightly taxed Province in India it would be nearer the mark to say that she is perhaps the most heavily taxed of all the Provinces of India.

I now come to the attack upon the Permanent Settlement. It is neither new nor original. Indeed it is as old as the Permanent Settlement itself. Now, in order to form a fair and accurate idea of the benefit which the Permanent Settlement has conferred upon India and no less upon Great Britain, it is necessary to take into account the circumstances which compelled the East India Company to decide upon a settlement in perpetuity and also to examine the state of things that prevailed at the time of that settlement both in India and in England. Mr. H. E. Marshall in his "History of India" says :—"The effect of the fearful famine which swept Bengal in 1770 was long felt. The people, worn to skeleton by starvation and horrible diseases which followed in the train of famine, died by thousands. They sold their cattle and tools and even their children to buy food until no one could be found to buy any more. When at last the misery was over, a third of the people had died. It was impossible to gather rent from the starving and penniless, and the Company received little or no money." Mr. N. D. Innes in his "History of the British in India" writes :—"Immediately before the date of the Permanent Settlement, there was a considerable drain upon the resources of the Company. The Rohilla war, the two campaigns against Tipu Sultan, the prevention of the hostile Mahratta demonstration against Oudh, the mission despatched to Nepal, the reduction of

Pondichery, the reform of the civil administration and the arrangements made for the improvement of the navy brought the finances of the Company to a low ebb."

As regards the state of England we find the following in "Pearson's Weekly":—

"During the closing years of the 18th century Britain as a first class power seemed doomed to destruction. Abroad, France, Holland, Spain and Italy were allied against her; the armed neutrality of the Baltic confederation was little less hostile. The United States had been alienated, and Austria, our sole Continental ally, was exhibiting a very dubious friendship. At home a succession of seven bad harvests, combined with the teachings of the French Republicans, caused sedition and discontent which the weight of taxation accentuated. Between 1793 and 1800 the National Debt had increased by £300,000,000. In February 1797 the cash in the Bank of England was hardly £1,000,000, a few days later, that institution suspended cash payment and on February 27th the country was within 48 hours of bankruptcy."

It was in such extremely critical times that the Company, after having unsuccessfully tried various expedients in order to ensure the collection of a substantial portion of the land-revenue, at last hit upon the Permanent Settlement as a last resort. It was indeed a Hobson's choice with them. As already stated, one-third of the population had then been carried off by the famine and more than one-third of the Province had become waste-land. The Permanent Settlement encouraged the Zemindars to extend, at a considerable expense, the area under cultivation by reclaiming waste-lands, and what services they had rendered in this connection will be apparent from the following opinion recorded by a member of the Board of Revenue:—"The effect of the Permanent Settlement has been a wonderful extension of cultivation. Though the original settlement was not at the time a light settlement, yet the saving principle of the permanent certainty of the assessment brought the Settlement through, so that from the increase of population and the consequent increase of the demand for land, a great increase of cultivation and a great rise in the rent of land have taken place and the estates have become most valuable property. The greater part of the land had, at the period of settlement, become waste from misgovernment. Not only has the lost cultivation been recovered, but vast tracts, where the plough had never passed, have been reclaimed. The result of the Parliamentary enquiry seems to demonstrate that the permanency of the Bengal Settlement has not been a bad bargain. That in addition to giving the Government a fair revenue, it has increased very much the wealth of the country."

Nor were the terms proposed by the Company too liberal or too favourable to the Zamindars. Section 74 of Regulation VIII of 1793 says:—"The terms proposed by the State appeared to many Zamindars at the time so ineligible, the pecuniary responsibilities required to be undertaken appeared to many of them to be so onerous that they declined to enter into the engagement. The framers of the settlement were prepared for this contingency; and directed that an allowance, in consideration of their proprietary rights, be awarded to Zamindars who might refuse to engage for the Jummas required from them."

Mr. Crawford says that "the Land Tax had been fixed at the highest amount which had been realised for a series of years under the British Administration." No wonder that the effect of the settlement on the first owners was simply disastrous. It was no easy matter to have to pay, year after year, irrespective of the caprices of the seasons, a land-revenue assessed at ten-elevenths of the rent-roll of estates. The majority agreed, looking more to the distant future than to immediate present; but most of the estates, more than 90 per cent. changed hands within the following twenty years, and even such a rich house as Burdwan had to part with a considerable portion of its estates, consisting of Pergunnahs Mondalghat, Arsa and Chetooa, for defaulting payment of revenue." Nothing, therefore, is more groundless than the supposition that the present body of land-holders are in the enjoyment of the profits arising from land since the date of Permanent Settlement. The number of Zamindars who can trace their title from the time of that Settlement can be counted on the fingers. Nor can it be denied that "the whole body of Zamindars, with a few notable exceptions, have paid very high prices for the estates they now hold." *Vide* proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council dated the 24th April, 1907.

The opponents of the Permanent Settlement have always sought to make capital out of what they are pleased to describe as the "unearned increment" of the Zamindars. But it is forgotten that the Zamindars have spent considerable sums of money in reclaiming waste lands and bringing them under cultivation. The following extracts from the "Gazette of India" dated the 28th October, 1823, are conclusive on this point:—"The wealth and prosperity of Bengal have marvellously increased, increased beyond all precedent, under the Permanent Settlement. A great portion of this increase is due to the Zamindary body as a whole and they have been very active and powerful factors in the development of this prosperity." I submit that they have richly earned their increased income. It is, however, a great mistake to suppose that the great majority of Zamindars are rolling in wealth. Assuming that the total income of the Zamindars is less than ten crores of rupees, it must be remembered that this amount is divided among more than thirty-five lakhs of proprietors —the number of rent-paying tenures alone in Bengal being 33,86,567. It, therefore, follows that the average income of a Zamindar is little more than twenty rupees per annum. There are no doubt a very small number of Zamindars who enjoy a princely income, but the total number of Zamindars whose income is rupees ten thousand and upwards per annum is less than four hundred, as is clear from the fact that the number of voters of the Landholders' electorate for the Legislative Assembly, whose qualifications are payment of revenue, rent and cesses aggregating a minimum of rupees ten thousand per annum, does not even amount to four hundred. It will thus be seen that as a class the Zamindars are not a wealthy people. Here I may be permitted to quote the following lines from the Bengal Administration Report for 1874-75:—"But it is also remembered that though many Zamindars are wealthy, still the landlord class as a whole, is far from being rich, and by many authorities is believed to be for the most part really poor." But nevertheless they are constantly called upon to contribute to various works of public utility, and they have often to incur debts in order to meet such demands.

We have shown that barring a handful of exceptions, the Zamindars as a body are not wealthy people and that the Permanent Settlement has been of immense benefit to the State. If there had been no Permanent Settlement then the prosperity of the Province would have been arrested and delayed. In India famines are almost an annual occurrence. But no such natural calamity can affect the security of the collection of land-revenue in Bengal—an advantage, from the point of view of Government, which cannot be over-estimated. It is the Permanent Settlement that has diminished the visitations of famine in Bengal. Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao says:—"Permanently settled Bengal has known no famines attended with loss of life," whereas "Madras and Bombay have lost millions of men."

We need not discuss the question as to whether the Government have not the power to abolish the Permanent Settlement. It will be sufficient for us to say that Government can do so only by breaking solemn pledges and forfeiting their reputation for honest dealing, which is indeed the strongest bulwark of British rule in India. The moment people lose their faith in the inviolability of the promises of Government, the position of Government is sure to be shaken irretrievably and we believe the Government know this full well, even though 'Observer' may not be restrained by any such consideration or scruples. Perhaps it will be news to him to be told that Lord Canning had recommended a Permanent Settlement for all India and that his recommendation was supported among others by Lord Lawrence, Sir Charles Wood (Lord Halifax), Earl de Grey (Lord Ripon) and Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh).

'Observer' also recommends that the income of the Zamindars should be assessable to the Income Tax. He is evidently ignorant of the fact that when the Road Cess was imposed upon the Zamindars, the Duke of Argyll, who was then the Secretary of State for India, made the following significant admission. We quote the following passages from the Duke's despatch :—

"It must be remembered that none of the pleas which, in the correspondence before me, are urged in favour of the right of the Government to levy rates for roads or for education, could have been put forward in favour of the right to impose an Income Tax on the landholders of Bengal."

In conclusion our advice to 'Observer' is to read more and write less. For his information we may state that during the administration of Lord William Bentinck, the Court of Directors, misled by the opponents of the Permanent Settlement, sent out positive orders not to settle permanently such estates as had been escheated to Government or had become *khas* by default but to manage them as *khas* property, through the agency of Deputy Collectors. Regulation IX of 1833 was accordingly passed and a number of uncovenanted Deputy Collectors was appointed. But what happened ? After an experience of 15 or 16 years, Government discovered to their cost that the *khas* management of estates brought less revenue to the public treasury than what the Zamindars paid before. The Court of Directors at once changed their opinion and ordered that the *khas* estates should be forthwith sold by public sale with fixed amount of revenue. The Deputy Collectors put up estate after estate to sale and, reckoning the amount in round numbers, about half a million sterling was realised by these sales up to 1870. Does not this fact clearly show that the Zamindary system is the most beneficial and advantageous to the State ?

One word more and I have done. During the century and a quarter of its existence, the Permanent Settlement has been assailed by various individuals on various occasions. All such attacks have, however, uniformly failed, presenting the spectacle of a certain Knight's memorable tilt at the windmill. They have now ceased to frighten the Zamindars who regard them with utter unconcern, emulating the philosophic composure of the stalwart Grenadier who, on being pommelled by the wife of his bosom, merely smiled and said—"it pleases she and doesn't hurt me."

B. I. A.

SABAT

Jawad Sābāt—afterwards Nathaniel Sābāt—was an Arab of the tribe of Kuraysh. The *Sobriquet* Sābāt was assumed by the family, in the fifteenth century, by one of Jawad's ancestors, Ahmad, building, at al-Hejar, in the province of Bahrayen, a peculiarly Arab mansion, called as-Sābāt with a roof between two houses having a passage underneath for the people to pass. The Sābāts trace their descent to Shaykh Abdul Kadir Jilani, and through him up to the Arabian prophet. It was at al-Jazirah (Greek, Mesopotamia)—the name given by the Arab geographers to the northern part of the land, between the Euphrates and the Tigris—that Jawad Sābāt was born in the year 1774. His father, Ibrahim, was for a short time an *Amir* of the Vilayet Mariya, under the Turkish Governor-General of Baghdad, 'Abdulla h Pasha.' He was once deputed, by one of the Arab Shaykhs, Saadun al-Khalidi, as an ambassador to the Court of Karim Khan Zand, King of Persia. Sābāt's mother was the daughter of Sayyad Muhammad Hakimbashi, physician to Shah Tahmasp, the last of the Safavi kings of Iran, and afterwards, to Sultan Abdul Hamid I of Turkey. The physician came to Baghdad and died of plague at Mariya. Sābāt's father died, when he was five years old, and his mother, when he was about twenty.

He was educated in various places. His talented mother, Shahrbān—an Arabicised form of Persian Shahr Banu—taught her son, in his infancy. Later, he went to Abi-Shahr, Hasa, Basra, Damuscus, Nabals, etc., and acquired a knowledge of the literature, rhetoric, logic, science, jurisprudence, metaphysics, mysticism and tradition from various scholars of Arabia and Persia. He pursued his desultory education, even in India.

In his early youth, and after the death of his mother, Sābāt took to an extensive travelling, in Arabia, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and India. In a poem he boasts of his high birth, the eminence of his ancestors, and his extensive travels—east and west, up-hill and down-dale. Starting from the Mount Judi or Senai, he goes to the Holy-Land, and thence to Mecca. From the latter place, he proceeds to Yemen, Najd, Syria and Bahrayen. From there he pushes up to the territory of Bani-Ka'ab and the country of the Kurds. From Aleppo he journeys to Persia, up to Calcutta. Then he visits China and Samarkand: travels from San'aa, the capital of Yemen, to the extremity of Constantinople, and from Kabul to Sindh.

In India, Sābāt, who came in 1797, if not earlier, visited all the big cities. But before he settled in India, he had known the founder of Wahhabi-ism, 'Abdul Wahhab of Nejd; Zaman Shah, Amir of Kabul; and Murad Beg, ruler of Bokhara—the first and last being the two most remarkable men of the last century.

In early manhood Sābāt and his friend, Abdullah, went to Kabul. Abdullah entered the service of Zaman Shah. There, by the simple reading of the Scriptures, Abdullah was converted to Christianity. To avoid persecution, he fled in disguise. At Bokhara, Sabat, who had preceded him, at once, recognised Abdullah and betrayed him to the King of Bokhara. He was offered his life, if he would adjure his new faith, but he refused. One of his hands was severed. On the second offer and refusal, his other hand was cut off. He never changed. And when he lowered his head to receive the blow of death, all Bokhara seemed to say, "What strange thing is this!"

In India, Sābāt was appointed to the post of Kādi, or expounder of Muhammadan Law, in the Civil Court of Vizagapatam—a sea-port on the Coromandal Coast of the Madras Presidency. "Sabat," writes Carey, "was sometime with the brethren Cran and Des Granges, at Vizagapatam and since that with brother Loveless at Madras." By the perusal of the Arabic New Testament, Sābāt embraced Christianity. By the change of faith, Sābāt's position in Court was rendered disagreeable. He was forced to seek refuge at Madras, where he made a public profession of faith, and was baptised by Dr. Kerr, Senior Chaplain, under the name of Nathaniel Sābāt. The inevitable persecution followed. Even his own brother set out from Arabia to kill him. Disguised as an ascetic, he wounded the convert to Christianity, as he sat in his house at Vizagapatam.

From Madras, Nathaniel Sābāt came to Serampore, in Bengal, in May, 1807, where Carey, Marshman and Ward had established the "Baptist Missionary Society" being recommended by Mr. Kerr as an Arab of noble extraction and high scholarship—well qualified to an appointment as a translator of the Bible in Persian and Arabic. Lofty in stature, haughty in demeanour, with a flowing black beard, Nathaniel Sābāt gave up his time and attention to the translation of the Scripture. His services were soon transferred from Bengal to Dinapore, in Behar, under Hènry Martyn, at the suggestion of Claudius Buchanan. After a stay of two years at Dinapore, Martyn went to Cawnpore, and Sābāt accompanied him thither. On Martyn's departure for Persia, Sābāt returned to Calcutta, where he continued to translate the New Testament, in Arabic, under the supervision of Thomas Thomason.

In Calcutta—as elsewhere—Sābāt by his haughty temper and unsubdued Arab spirit, made the Muslim community his enemy. The Europeans owing to the tell-tale Ahmad, a Georgian, who wrote for the College of Fort William, in Calcutta, Arabic primers, became suspicious of Sābāt's sincerity as to his profession of Christianity. He was threatened with criminal prosecution, by the Georgian and certain Muslim traders of Calcutta. Disgusted, Sābāt gave up his post of translator under the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, renounced Christianity before the Muhammadan Kādi, and embarked for home in 1812. When the ship reached Tillicherry, in Malabar, Sābāt swam ashore, as there arose some disagreement between him and his companion. He sought the protection of the English Judge who had read an account of him in Buchanan's Sermon "The Star in the East." The Judge recognised Sābāt and through his recommendation he came back to Calcutta, in the corresponding committee's service, late in 1813. While translating the Bible, Sābāt was printing a refutation of Christianity, to which, he says, he had set his heart long ago, in a private press, he had set up in his house, with closed doors. Having finished the latter work, and the translation of the Bible, he resigned his post, distributed his refutations *gratis*, and left Calcutta and Christianity by the end of 1814. He wandered to various places in India; and went to Penang. There he accompanied the deposed Muhammadan King of Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, to his capital. At Acheen, Sābāt was regarded by the rebels as their enemy. Being taken prisoner by the insurgents, he was sewn up in a sack and thrown into the sea.

Sābāt was a contrast to himself. At Madras, while holding the post of the expounder of Muhammadan Law, he shows his leaning towards Christianity. The secret being out, he seeks refuge at the Christian mission and is baptized. Apparently he pacified the Muslims as he did his brother, by disclosing his private motive. With the little English he had picked up, he asks Mr. Kerr to engage him to translate the Bible, in the dialect of Arabia. In Calcutta, he quarrels with the Muslims and raises suspicion in the mind of the Missionaries and others. The Muslims were not sure if he was a Muslim. At Serampore, he writes to Mr. Udny that he is a free Arab, and never in bondage. The Missionaries forbore his evil temper. As he leaves Calcutta, he writes a letter to Mr. Thomason, and sends to him a copy of his book.

His books in Arabic and Persian are on various subjects—grammar, logic, poetry, geomancy, etc. The Bengal Asiatic Society has acquired a manuscript volume, containing thirteen of his books. In this volume there is a letter which Sābāt drafted for Mir Ashraf Ali of Dacca to the Ulema of Iraq-i-'Arab requesting the latter to write a refutation of Shah 'Abdul Aziz's "Tuhfa-i-Isna-'asha-riya," written against the Shia tenet. His only printed book in Arabic entitled "The Sabatian proofs which support the pillars of Muhammadan religion, and subvert the columns of the abrogated Christian faith" proves that at heart, he believed in Islam. He became a convert to Christianity to learn the secret of the faith, the machinations of some of its professors, and the political methods adopted by the English. Sābāt severely criticises the apathy of the Muslims, warns them against the approaching dismemberment of their empire. He gives his reasons against the present-day Christianity. In this work Sābāt contends that Jesus Christ never claimed to be God. He was like Abraham, Moses and other prophets, a prophet. His teachings were divine, but he was no divinity.

In a long poem Sābāt writes : I swore by the Metropolitan that I believed in the ecclesiastic; denied that I was a Muslim; repaired to the Christian church, attended the service with zeal; read the Scriptures of the Jews, embarked upon the religion of the son of the Virgin Mary, the priests thereof made of me an example to them, and a model translator of the gospel. I deeply did study their books—day and night. (In spite of this) I never wavered, 'But lo! I saw the light of Muhammad, glittering, like the column of thundering voyaging apart with a stranger.'

I will conclude this sketch with the following pen-portrait of Nathniel Sābāt by Mrs. Sherwood, who met him at Cawnpore :—

"Every feature in the large disk of Sābāt's face was what we should call exaggerated. His eye-brows were arched, black and strongly pencilled, his eyes dark and round, and from time to time flashing with unsubdued emotion, and ready to kindle into flame on the most trifling occasion. His nose was high, his mouth wide, his teeth large, and looked white in contrast with his bronzed complexion and fierce black mustachios. He was a large and powerful man, and generally a skull-cap of rich shawling, or embroidered silk, with circular flaps of the same, hanging over each other. His large and lawny neck had no other covering than that afforded by his beared, which was black. His attire was a kind of jacket of silk, with long slips, fastened by a girelle, or girdle about his loins, to which was appended a jewelled dirk. He wore loose trousers and embroidered shoes. In the cold season, he threw over this a wrapper lined with fur, and when it was warmer, the fur was changed for silk. When to this costume is added earring and sometimes a golden chain, the Arab stands before you in a complete state of oriental dandysm. The son of the desert never sat in a chair without contriving to tuck his legs under him on the seat, in attitude very like a tailor on his board. The only language which he was able to speak were Persian and Arabic, and a very little bad Hindustani; but what was wanting in the words of this man was more than made up by the loudness with which he uttered them, for he had a voice like rolling thunder."

Abdul Wali

MITES FROM MANY

STOLEN LOVE [1]

The thief that stole my maidenhood
Now bears the husband's name;
The nights of spring, that were, are now,
The stir of breeze the same;
The breeze is laden with the scent
Where Mālati,[2] Kadamba[3] meet
With breath of life from blooms, full blown;
—Enchantment rare and sweet!
The I that was am self-same I;
And yet for stol'n love-play
My anguished heart's prison'd 'neath the cane
Tree, washed by Revā-spray.[4]

—*Princess Sīlā* [5]

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[1] Peterson's "Sāragadhara Paddhati" No. 3768.

Favourite of Blessed Chaitanya who often repeated the lines in Jagannath's temple at Puri. "Love of God transcends all law."

[2] Indian jasmine.

[3] Not the common Kadamba (*Nuclea kadamba*) which flowers in the rains but most probably *Nāgesvara* (*Mesua Ferrea*).

[4] Commonly called the Nerbudda.

[5] Legend speaks of a princess who was married to her pre-marital lover with whom she had clandestinely united under a cane tree on the banks of the Revā.

LAW AND LOVE

The wise, that min'ster to my sense
    With strange, unknown delights,
Call Thee, of universe the Lord,
    A law that lives on mites—
Electrons, atoms, ions called
    And other names galore.
O Science, canst thou th' wonder rob
    From th' world or make it more?
This world of God transcends all thought,
    How greater wonder He!
Man's mind is but Thy gift, O Lord—
    That mind to compass Thee!
In sleep, where man's reason be,
May he not wake *sans* sanity?
    From where all knowing sleeps
    And deep, dark Riddle peeps
    My Lord's unbreath'd voice speaks:—
Tho' all-defining I am Law
    To Seen alone that Law extends.
With soul, that sentient love and joy,
    I dwell as Love. In Love Law ends.
A bubble 'tis, this life of man,
    On Time's eventful breast,
The wind called Law but drives it on
    To shining, joyous rest.
What more can be thy heart's desire
    Since man thou art and for thy race
Thou hast a life to give and feel
    This earth life lost in Love's embrace?—*Modern.*

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

SANKARA AND RAMANUJA—A STUDY

All the philosophical systems of the world have pre-suppositions of their own, and the system of Sankara forms no exception. The philosophical system of Sankara starts with the pre-supposition that the revealed Upaniṣads are the only proof with regard to Brahman who passeth all understanding and reasoning, and that they testify to the existence of one all-pervading absolute intelligence without attributes. This all-pervading indivisible consciousness is the only reality or *paramārtha* according to Sankara. This all-pervading principle, which is called Brahman by Sankara, is one without a second. But there is a phenomenal universe of living and non-living beings which no philosophy can ignore. Hence the question arises, how can the existence of this phenomenal universe of plurality be explained, having regard to the fact that one all-pervading indivisible mass of intelligence is the only reality? Here arises the necessity of the doctrine of *māyā* or *avidyā* for Sankara. If one all-pervading consciousness is the only reality, then this phenomenal universe of variety must be treated as *māyā* or illusion. It has only a seeming existence and not a real one. But what is *māyā* or *avidyā* according to Sankara? It is in his opinion something indescribable which ought to be viewed neither as reality nor other than reality but still in some way or other constituting the seed of this universe of names and forms. This *māyā* not only evolves a variety of names and forms but conceals the nature of the all-intelligent Brahman and makes him appear as so many knowers and enjoyers. It is important to note that Sankara regards this *māyā* as the self, as it were, of the omniscient *Isvara* but not that of the Highest Brahman. But he nowhere tells us what relation, if any, it bears to the Highest Brahman. The Highest Brahman is all-intelligent and according to his own showing there cannot be anything but intelligence in Him. Hence *māyā* which gives rise to this false universe of names and forms can have no connexion with the Highest. But is it then to be regarded as a second principle other than Brahman ? Then we have to admit the existence of another reality other than Brahman which Sankara is not prepared to do. Sankara is evidently in difficulty with regard to his conception of *māyā*. He knows not where to place it in his scheme of existence. He cannot take it as something real. For that would go to make the universe of names and forms real as well. Nor can he take it as something unreal. How is it possible for something which is altogether unreal to give rise to this phenomenal universe of variety and to limit the Highest Self ? One of his devoted disciples—*Vidyāranya* has of course come to his rescue but to no purpose. *Vidyāranya* suggests that *māyā* is really the *sakti* or power of Brahman as the power of burning is that of fire. It has no existence apart from Brahman; its reality can be inferred only from the effects it produces. As it exists only through Brahman, it is not real by itself. Nor can it be conceived as unreal for it is the *sakti* or power of Brahman.[1] Some scholars have lately adopted this view of *māyā*. We would welcome such a view if we could. This would certainly take away some of the serious differences between Sankara and his opponents. But the Philosopher in his commentary has nowhere viewed *māyā* as the *sakti* of the Highest Brahman. On the other hand, he is inclined to regard *māyā* not as something real abiding in Brahman, but as 'a mere illusion similar to a *mṛgatriṣnikā*' as Deussen and Thibaut rightly point out. It is rather a sort of incomprehensible magical power which enables Brahman to produce these illusory appearances of animate and inanimate beings. As a rope is mistaken for a snake apparently only and when the delusion ceases, the snake vanishes, such is also the case with this universe projected by

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[1] *Vide* Panchadasi, Chapter 11, slokas 47-53.

māyā. One who becomes God no longer experiences this illusion. Sankara in his commentary to Sūtra III. 2. 11, while discussing the question of the two forms of Brahman states in plain words that one and the same reality by its very nature cannot be with varieties and without them. As a piece of transparent glass assumes redness owing to the juxtaposition of lac though in reality it has none—its redness being a pure delusion, so Brahman—the highest principle assumes characteristics other than His own in conjunction with the *upādhis* though in reality He has none,—His assumption of the *upādhis* being a pure delusion. The Achārya concludes that Brahman is to be viewed without *viseshas* or differences under all circumstances. So how can *māyā* be regarded as a real *sakti* of Brahman in view of Sankara's direct teachings to the contrary? Rāmānuja pertinently observes that this supposed *māyā* can have no abode to reside in under Sankara's philosophical scheme. It cannot abide in *Brahman*, for *Brahman*, according to Sankara, is self-luminous intelligence and so He cannot, on his own showing, be the seat of *māyā* or *avidyā*. Neither can it have a seat in the *jīva*, for the individuality of the *jīva* is its own product and the latter cannot possibly support that which is the cause of its very existence. Thus the position of *māyā* in Sankara's philosophical system seems to be anomalous. But according to the Vaishnava teachers, Brahman with *viseshas* or varieties is the true Brahman. They further view *māyā* as something real and identify it with the inanimate *prakriti* of Brahman having the qualities of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. When the *jīvas* stand enveloped by the qualities of *prakriti* they are in bondage and when perchance through *bhakti* or loving devotion they attain unity in nature with Brahman they enjoy His bliss for ever. Thus we see that the theory of *māyā* advocated by the Vaishnava thinkers is a simple one and is free from the difficulties which beset the scheme of Sankara. Now to proceed. As *Brahman* is without *viseshas* or varieties, Sankara has been compelled to deny all reality to the *jīvas,* though some teachers of his school, on his own admission, have done so.[1] From the perusal of his commentary, it is evident that he has conceived the *jīva* either as Brahman limited by the qualities of the *buddhi* or simply as a reflection of Brahman. In whatever way we may view the *jīva,* it is undoubted that the *advaitiste* have no place for the individual soul. As Brahman, according to them, is without all *viseshas,* there cannot be any place for the *acharyas,* sages, *rishis,* or revealed scriptures in their philosophical scheme either. Sankara holds in some places of his *bhāshya* that the revealed texts of the Upaniṣads are the only proof with regard to Brahman, but in other places he points out in unmistakable terms that the knowledge derived from the Sāstras is false as well. As Brahman is without all *viseshas* or varieties, for the sake of consistency he must view the *Sāstras* false as well. If the Sāstras are false, how can they at all testify to Brahman—the only reality advocated by Sankara? This position of Sankara, we must say, is untenable. As the *jīva* is Brahman himself under the veil of *upādhis* there cannot be any necessity for *upāsanā* or worship in the real sense of the term. For *upāsanā* implies an eternal object of worship capable of conferring us eternal bliss which is wanting in Sankara's scheme from the standpoint of *paramārtha.* Sankara has noted in different places of his *bhāshya* that all forms of *upāsanā* enumerated in the Sūtras stand connected with the *saguṇa vidya* and not with the *nirguṇa vidya.* He goes the length of stating that a devotee meditating on the Highest Brahman through the syllable *Oṃ* reaches the abode of the *Hiranyagarbha* or lower Brahman only and not that of the highest Brahman and gradually on the attainment of true knowledge he reaches the Most High. But the Upanisads and the Gītā teach otherwise. They enjoin in plain words that through unswerving devotion one can reach the Highest.

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[1] *Vide* Sankara's Commentary to Sūtra I. 3. 19.

They further proclaim that one meditating on Brahma through the syllable *Om* reaches the highest path. But if one cannot reach the Highest Brahman through whole-hearted devotion, how can he at all reach Him? In Sankara's opinion the soul of the *vidvan* which has been enlightened by texts such as 'That art Thou' and the like, inculcating that there is no difference between his individual self and the Highest Self, does not pass out of the body but obtains at the moment of death immediate final release and putting away all fetters of *māyā* attains its true nature which is nothing but becoming Brahman Himself. But all the revealed scriptures of the Hindus teach that any one having a *siddha-mantra* from a *guru* having vision of the eternal truths can attain to the Highest. But such *mantras*, according to Sankara's own showing, cannot take us to the Highest. The state of final release proclaimed by Sankara is one of pure intelligence without specific cognition. In other words, it is something akin to that of dreamless sleep. We hanker after eternal bliss and you point us to a state similar to that of sound sleep. We want bread and you give us stone instead. To say the least Sankara's teachings are not in keeping with our highest aspirations.

But according to Rāmānuja, Brahman with *viseshas* or attributes is the true Brahman. Brahman is the supreme cause and the universe made up of matter and soul is the effect produced by Him. Matter and soul form the body of Brahman, and this body can exist in a subtle as well as in a gross condition. God with His subtle body is the universe in its subtle condition, and with His gross body constitutes the created universe itself. Material universe and soul constitute the body of God according to *Rāmānuja* and *Sreekantha*, and they are his *saktis* according to *Nimvarka*, *Baladeva*, *Sreenivasa*, and others. By the words body and *sakti* they mean much the same thing. Rāmānuja in his *bhāshya* to Sūtra II. 3.47, says that the relation of the universe to Brahman is like that of a ray of light to a luminant, that of *sakti* or power to a source of power or that of a body to its soul. Parāsara and other *rishis* also view the relation in a similar way. Thus Rāmānuja regards the relation of the universe of sentient and non-sentient beings to God as analogous to that of a *sakti* to its source, though he frequently uses the analogy of body and soul to express the same relation.

The relation of *sakti* or power to its source is one of unity-in-difference. There is difference between a ray of light and its luminant. There is non-difference as well. A ray of light is but a mode of the luminant—is but the luminant in some shape. The Upaniṣad regards the universe of matter and soul as the foot of Brahman.[1] Sankara admits that the foot in the text means *aṃsa.* As the universe of the sentient and non-sentient beings can stand in the relation of *aṃsa* to Brahman in the same way as a ray of light stands to its source, this *bhedābheda* relation has practically been recognised in the Upaniṣad. The Gītā views both the material universe and the *jīva* as *prakriti* of Brahman. The material universe is viewed as the *apara* (changeable) and the *jīva* as the *parā* (unchangeable) of the Highest Lord. The Gītā uses the words *kshara* and *akshara* for the material universe and the *jīva* respectively in a different discourse. As according to the Gītā the material universe and the *jīva* are *prakriti* of Brahman and as He is viewed as superior to both of them as well, the relation of the material universe and the *jīva* to God has undoubtedly been conceived as one of *bhedābheda* in the Gītā too.[2] The Vedānta-sūtras regard Brahman not only as the operative cause of the material universe but as its *prakiti* or matter as well.[3] Bādarāyana states in unequivocal terms that the relation of the universe to Brahman is comparable to that of the rays of light to the sun.[4] In illustrating the relation of the *jīva* to Brahman, he has but resorted to the same example. Thus in his opinion too the relation of the universe of the living and non-living to that of Brahman is one of *bhedābheda*. Sankara in the commentary to the *Brihadāranyaka upanisad* V. i, has combated the *advaita-dvaita* theory as promulgated by *Bhartriprapancha.* Sankara contends that two contradictory attributes *dvaita* and *advaita*, dual and single cannot be true of the same reality. The union of contradictories may take place in phenomenal objects such as sea and its waves which are identical-in-difference but not in noumenon—the 'simple' eternal reality. We point out in reply that those who advocate the union of *advaita-dvaita* in noumenon never view it as one of contradictories. In their opinion when the *jīva* attains the Divine nature of Brahman, then only this union takes place. Hence under the *advaita-dvaita* theory as upheld by the *Vaishnavas* there is really no union of contradictories but only that of the objects of similar nature. To use the language of Plato the *jīvas* 'being of the same nature cleave thereunto.'

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[1] Ch. Up., III. 12.6.

[2] *Vide* Gītā, VII. 5 and XV. 18.

[3] Brahma-sūtras, I. 4.23.

[4] Brahma-sutras, II. 3. 46.

According to the Brahma-sūtras as interpreted by Rāmānuja the *jīva* is an eternal knower having very minute size. This theory is technically known as the *aṇuvāda.* It reminds us of the theory of the monads of European philosophy. The word monad in its modern signification was made current by Giordano Bruno, who used it in conscious opposition to the atoms of Democritus, to denote the individual substances in which the divine essence of the universe manifests itself. Next, Leibnitz in antithesis to the philosophy of Spinoza, formulates his theory of the plurality of monads which constitutes the element of all reality, the fundamental being of the whole physical and spiritual universe. The monads, in his conception, are not material or extended like the atoms of the physicists and mechanical philosophers, but they are 'metaphysical points,' or 'immaterial centres of force.' But, as Leibnitz views his monads as having qualitative difference, it is difficult to see how interaction between different monads can at all take place. In order to remove this defect, Lotze who has his roots in Monadology, conceives the monads or spiritual substances not as absolute or unrelated reals, but as organic members of one real world, moments in the life of one Being who conditions them all and makes their reciprocal interaction possible. Ladd follows Lotze. Lodge suggests as a working hypothesis that life or soul "may be a real and basal form of existence, and therefore persistent."[1] If "life is itself a guiding principle, a controlling agency" as has been maintained by the scientists of repute, then we think that *jīva* as conceived by Rāmānuja is the best that has been advanced up to date. It is applicable not only to human life, but to all life—to that of all animals and even of plants. In our opinion it is the only theory that enables the thinkers to fit the known facts of ordinary vitality into a thinkable scheme. The *Katha Upanisad* teaches "he whom the Spirit chooseth, getteth the Spirit and to him God discovereth His body." The Gītā enjoins that "by *bhakti* or loving devotion he knoweth Me in essence, who and what I am." The Brahma-sutras according to the interpretation of Rāmānuja take up but the same strain and declare that Brahman can be known by *ārādhanā* or devotion. They further tell us what the devotees experience when they see God. When the devotees see God, their fetters are removed, all sorrows disappear and all seeds of work become nothing. They enter into Brahman as the streams flow into the ocean, leaving behind them their *nāma* and *rupa*,—their ahankāra (egoism), but not their own self or individuality. They are joined unto the Highest Lord as one spirit and abide in Him for ever enjoying His bliss which passeth all comprehension. Thus the Vedānta in its unfalsified form is undoubtedly the strongest support of the seekers after truth, and is the highest path that has been revealed unto humanity.

ABHAYAKUMAR GUHA

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[1] *Vide* Lodge, Life and Matter, p. 104.

A BURMA BELLE

After tiffin when Ma Chit Yin
Dresses up to make a call,
Flapper girls across the ocean
Haven't any show at all.

Blazingly in silks she flashes,
Radiant with rainbow dyes ;
When the sunlight falls upon her,
Suddenly you shade your eyes.

Twinkling ears adrip with rubies ;
Gold about her slender wrists ;
Round her neck a chain of pendants—
Diamonds and amethysts.

Hair as black as cloudy midnight,
Glossy with an oil veneer,
With a lovely yellow orchid
Perching just above her ear.

Slippers rhythmically flapping
Make her shimmy when she walks ;
Voice like bells at the pagoda
Makes her tinkle when she talks.

Neck and cheeks are soft and creamy,
  Rubbed with dust of sandalwood ;
Crimson lips from juice of betel—
  You would kiss her if you could.

I can love her and adore her
  Till she lights her long cheroot ;
Then I'll ask her to excuse me,
  For it's time for me to scoot.

WAYNE GARD

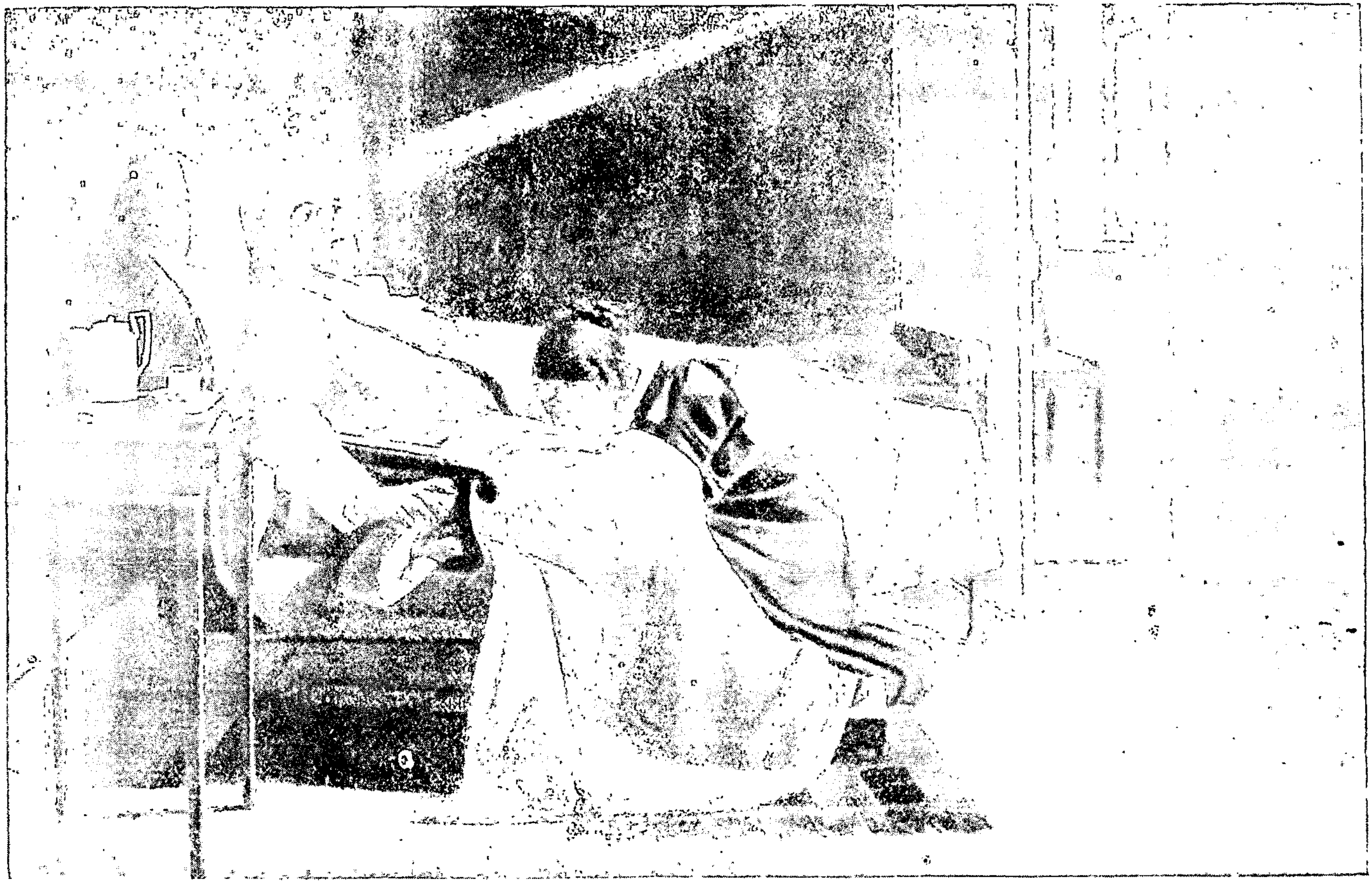
"THE EARLY ENGLISH THEATRE AND THE BENGALI DRAMA"

(A SUPPLEMENT)

May I be permitted to add a supplement to Mr. Mohini Mohan Mukhopadhyay's interesting article on "The Early English Theatre and the Bengali Drama" which appeared in the August Number of *The Calcutta Review*.

A Russian adventurer named Herasim Lebedeff came to Madras in 1785, where he found employment as a bandmaster. Two years later he passed on to Calcutta, where he tells us he first began his studies in Indian literature in 1789 with the help of a linguist whom he called "Golucknat-dash." With Government permission he built an Indian theatre in Calcutta in 1795, for which two English plays were translated by him into Bengali and performed in November, 1795, and March 1796. He subsequently took service under the Great Mogul, and returned to England in 1801, in which year he published in London a Hindōstānī Grammar, entitled *A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects. . . . Methodically arranged at Calcutta, according to the Brahmenian System of the Shamscrit Language.* His subsequent career does not concern us. Judging from this grammar, his knowledge of Hindōstānī must have been very elementary,—such as might have been picked up in the Calcutta Bazar. In his preface he gives an account of himself, and refers to his two plays in the following words :—

> "After these researches [into Indian languages and literatures], I translated two English dramatic pieces, namely, The Disguise, and Love is the Best Doctor, into the Bengal language ; and having observed that the Indians preferred mimicry and drollery to plain grave solid sense, however purely expressed—I therefore fixed on those plays, and which were most pleasingly



MORE LIGHT

From the Picture by Fritz Fleischer]

filled up with a group of watchmen, *chokey-dars*; savoyards, *canera*; thieves, *ghoonia*; lawyers, *gumosta*; and amongst the rest a corps of petty plunderers.

When my translation was finished, I invited several learned Pundits, who perused the work very attentively; and I then had the opportunity of observing those sentences which appeared to them most pleasing, and which most excited emotion; and I presume I do not much flatter myself, when I affirm that by this translation the spirit of both the comic and serious scenes were much heightened, and which would in vain be imitated by any European who did not possess the advantage of such an instructor as I had the extraordinary good fortune to procure.

After the approbation of the Pundits—*Golucknat-dash*, my Linguist, made me a proposal, that if I chose to present this play publicly, he would engage to supply me with actors of both sexes from among the natives: with which idea I was exceedingly pleased.—I therefore, to bring to view my undertaking, for the benefit of the European public, without delay, solicited the Governor General—Sir John Shore, (now Lord Teignmouth) for a regular licence, who granted it to me without hesitation.

Thus fortified by patronage, and anxious to exhibit, I set about building a commodious Theatre, on a plan of my own, in Dom (Dome-Lane) Tollah, in the center of Calcutta; and in the meanwhile I employed my Linguist (Goluck) to procure me native actors of both sexes,—in three months after I had both Theatre and Actors ready for my representation of The Disguise, which I accordingly produced to the Public in the Bengal language, on the 27th of November, 1795; and the same play was again performed on the 21st of March, 1796.

After the first and second representation, both of which attracted an over-flowing house, I obtained full permission to perform both English and Bengal plays: and from the encouragement shewn to me by the Honourable Governor-General, and other patrons, and friends, during my pursuit in the searches of Indian literature, *viz.* the Shamscrit, and Bengal languages, the Mixed Indian Dialects [*i.e.*, Hindōstānī], Chronology, Astronomy, etc.—And having during the course of my application and study, discovered numerous faults and errors, which those who had published on these heads had fallen into, I

> resolved on giving to an impartial public the fruits of my enquiries and pursuits, and therefore quitted India to come to this country for the purpose of submitting the same to Public view."

It would be interesting to know if there are now-a-days any traces of this theatre in Dom Tollah, and if there are any contemporary references to these two plays. They would seem to have been the earliest adaptations of European dramatic form to the Bengali stage. Who was 'Golucknatdash'? Can Lebedeff have been alluding to Gōlōk-nāth Śarmā, the author of a Bengali translation of the Hitôpâdēśa published in Serampore in 1801?

GEORGE A. GRIERSON

TO—,

If life were a rose, Belovéd,
I had severed each thorn for thee;
If life were a song, Belovéd,
I had filled it with harmony.

Were life a pearl, Belovéd,
I'd worn it on the string of my heart;
Were life a star, Belovéd,
Mine eye had ne'er let it depart.

But life is not a rose, a song,
'Tis a canker, a lament, hark,—
Alas, 'tis not a pearl, a star,
But a tear and a feeble spark!

V. B.

STATUE OF BUDDHA

From the Birmingham Museum]

A BROKEN HEART

'Twas in a moonlit silver night,
In my garden a clever bee
　　Whirled round and round
　　Until he found
His love—a full bloomed white *juthee*.

The ardent bee then poured his heart,
The crimson heart of youthful days ;
　　He danced above,
　　He spoke his love,
He stopped to hear what *juthee* says.

All wise men say that love is frail;
I saw the flower wave her head,
　　I heard a sigh,
　　And know not why
The wretched bee once stopped and fled.

Not a word did speak the bee—
So rare ! alas is sympathy.

A. SANYAL

COLOSSAL COPPER STATUE OF BUDDHA

[*From Sultāngunj, Bhāgalpur, Behar : now in the Birmingham Museum*].

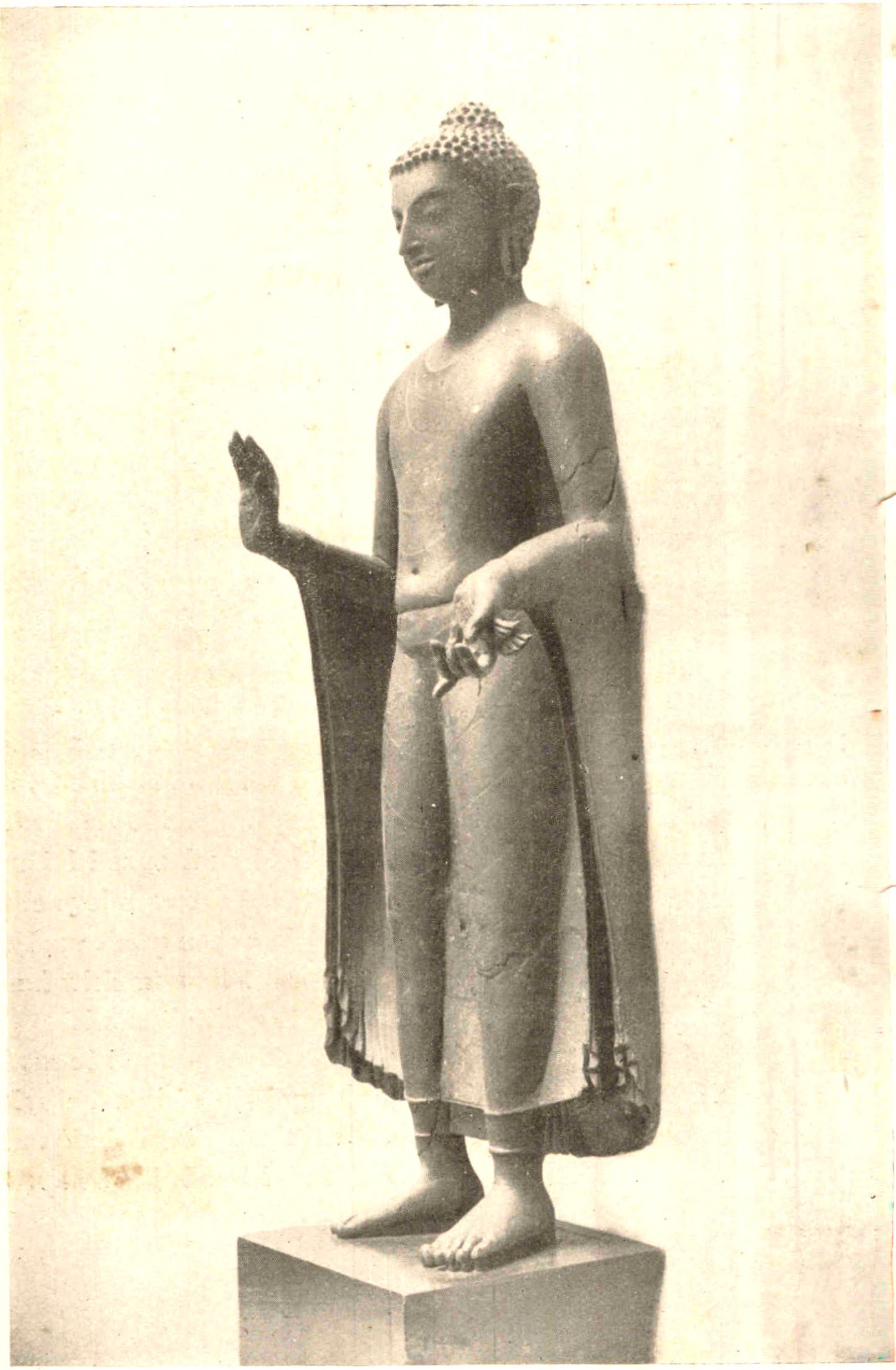
The statue deserves notice in more than one respect. It is one ef the finest pieces of Gupta sculpture. It is the only example, almost perfectly preserved, of Indian sculpture known hitherto, that has been cast in copper on a colossal scale. (*ht.* 7′4″; *br.* 2′1″; across shoulders). It was found in Behar. Its approximate date is 400 A.D. (*cf.* V. Smith, History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, page 171).

The body is lightly bent (*ābhaṅga*), clad in a transparent robe, that covers both the shoulders and falls over the arms. The right hand, in boon conferring gesture (*varada mudra*) holds an end of the garment; the left, raised in *abhaya mudra* grants fearlessness.

The physiognomy of this Buddha differs from the round, intensely strained features given to the images in Sarnath; it also differs from the short, complacent face peculiar to the Buddhas of the Mathura school. It stands nearest to the small metal image from Nalanda. Both have long eyes over which the eyebrows are not raised to the height of the other schools, a long sharp nose and lips broad, overful, curled, yet straight and without smile.

The modelling of the body is soft and sensitive. The hem of the upper robe is wrinkled into capricious folds. Sensitive relaxation distinguishes the Buddha of Sultanganj from the disciplined serenity which, elsewhere, the sculptors of the Gupta age infused into their images.

St. K.



STATUE OF BUDDHA

From the Birmingham Museum]

STATUE OF BUDDHA

From the Birmingham Museum]

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY AND THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

SHOULDERING THE DARK MAN'S BURDEN.

The imperialistic phrase about the white man's duty and "white man's burden" is naturally taken by his duskier brother as rather cant and even insolence, and very often it is both, but, after all, there is such a thing as "bearing one another's burdens," and there are differences between the characteristics and aptitudes of the different branches of the great human family, as well as between those of its different members, so we can help each other inter-racially as well as individually, *ex Oriente lex, ex Occidente lux*—law from the West and light from the East—and Pax Britannica, is a reality, after all, so that much-abused imperialistic phrase—abused in both senses of the word—need not be taken quite cynically.

But, whatever good the fairer races may have done their darker brethren in the past, the time has clearly come now for the East to help the West, by giving it light and a lead once more.

The West with its brainy materialism, but lack of vision and higher imagination, has evolved an economic system that has degenerated into an appalling muddle, with very evil consequences to the masses of the people, and like a sick man carrying his infection, it is taking its tainted system to other countries.

Fortunately India has not been entirely blinded by the glamour of Western progress, and has summed up modern industrialism as a system under which the workers are deprived of the things that are really good, natural and wholesome, and reduced to a state of wage-slavery, the fruits of which are moral and physical deterioration, together with utter insecurity of a living, all to enable some people to get rich quickly; the immense inequalities created spreading dissatisfaction and envy among all classes, and resulting in widespread corruption. India has stamped this civilisation, as "satanic," and her revolt against it, and specially against a Government suspected to be the handmaid of capitalism, will take its place among the remarkable moral and religious revivalist movements of the world.

Now when this great popular movement was at its height, Calcutta University issued and distributed to colleges and to the "recognised" schools of Bengal, and issued also for sale to the public, printed lectures,[1] showing that, if India would concentrate on the constructive side of her non-co-operation idea, she would place herself on the road of sure and rapid progress, and not only that, but she might give an important lead to the whole world, showing all how to escape the great evils that accompany modern civilisation, and thus have her very crushing but very noble revenge on the West and its arrogance.

The practical hopefulness and utility of the suggestions made in these prints won them approval even from people who took no part in the political movement. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the eminent practical economist, and entirely constructive statesman, looking at these publications simply from the constructive point of view, wrote that "Calcutta University, as befits the highest seat of learning in the land, has taken a lead that will make the whole horizon glow with light later on;" and this view was endorsed very strongly by leading economists to whom these publications were sent.

The appeal was addressed specially by leading university of India to the educated people of the country, calling upon them to get to work and put this *jiujitsu* into practice, without waiting for the masses. The masses, who always look passionately at one side of a question, clamour loudly for impossible steps and unattainable ideals, till they settle down finally, disappointed and discouraged, to accept things fatalistically as they are. The Calcutta University publications insisted that if the educated people would do their duty, that need not occur in this instance.

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[1] "Self-Government and the Bread Problem." Calcutta University, Rs. 1-4-0 & 1-14-0.

First they insist, that, to understand the situation correctly, we want accurate and complete information, which those heated in the strife of partisanship cannot give; these publications and appeals emphasise that never did the words "the truth will make you free" apply more strongly than they do to India now, and to the world.

We have to recognise frankly that we cannot put the clock back, and bring people back to idyllic ideas and tastes. The non-co-operation movement swept India with such a wave of enthusiasm as has rarely swept any country before, the "weaver-farmer," and the "spinner-farmer" were extolled to the skies, but people did not go "back to the land," and the immense wave came and went without leaving us one single colony of back-to-the landers that is of sufficient importance to be generally known. It is no good telling mankind that it must not apply intelligence to its methods of production, and to improving in its ways of working. It is in the very nature of man to strive to progress, to use in every direction the intelligence he has been gifted with, and more than anything else he will use it to improve his ways of doing his daily work.

As clearly as reformers of the East have found that it is impossible, by appealing to people, to make them abhor material progress, so clearly have those of the West found that it is impossible to put the clock forward a century, and, by appealing to people, to induce them to raise themselves at a bound on to a higher moral and intellectual plane; to substitute the co-operative state, in which "people will work together for the common good" for the present struggle for personal advancement and success.

What we have to do is to study how we can remove our great social ills taking man and his systems as we find them.

Popular leaders denounce machine-production, saying that it leads to the enslavement of the masses to the owners of the machines, condemning them to drudging toil and degrading wage-slavery, instead of the wholesome and happy labour of free men. The socialist speaks of capitalism as a system under which the crafty and the greedy obtain possession of the means of production and distribution and make others work for them on their own terms.

Evidently, however, under good social conditions, labour-saving machinery ought to save us drudgery, not give it to us, and members of the community—like capitalists—establish good machinery, and allowing people to work with it for wages if they find it to their advantage to do so, ought to be benefactors.

The good social conditions that are required for that are after all, very simple.

It is clear that if a rural community suddenly became inventive, and evolved machinery with the help of which people would produce the clothes they wanted by five days' average labour a year, instead of twenty days', and the implements by ten days' labour instead of fifty, and their agricultural work with half the amount of toil, the result would be, normally, that they would have a considerable amount of leisure.

As regards capitalism, it is evident that if the work done by machinery could be much more efficiently done in large organisations, people establishing such organisations, in which workers would have the option of working if they wanted to, would do good to the community, even if the capitalists took an undue share of the advantage. They would have to offer the workersmore for their labour than they would earn in their own workshops or, normally, they would not work for them.

Of course it is true that the work done by improved methods might sometimes be of less value from certain points of view than primitive toil. As, however, the labour-saving-machinery, would set people free to use much of their time as they wished, instead of being compelled to spend it all producing necessaries, it should be a gain, given education to make them use their leisure well. Progress, in fact, may be defined as the conquest of leisure by machinery, and improved methods,—combined with education and culture to make people use the leisure profitably. To talk about the social danger of machinery and the conquest of leisure, because it may be used badly, is reactionary in the extreme; it is, in fact, to deny the possibility of human progress

But nothing in the world could be stranger, but at the same time simpler, when we come to examine it, than the way in which machine-production and capitalism, under the conditions that have now arisen, produce abnormal effects; the circumstances are so fantastically paradoxical, however, that they leave one somewhat bewildered.

When the whole system becomes capitalistic, we have, on the one hand, a capitalist class owning all the means of production, and on the other hand a proletariat owning nothing, with no second string to its bow, no land and workshops of its own to get a livelihood by. Under these conditions workers are driven to work the whole day in factories. Then machine production becomes a cruel drudgery. The factory worker then gets the evil side of it without the good, the unimproving work, without the leisure to use for self-improvement. Under these conditions, indeed, labour-saving machinery may result in cruel overwork, and too often actually does so. When there are a number of people depending upon the capitalist for their daily bread, and labour-saving machinery has reduced the number of workers required, there is keen competition for work, and people accept employment on hard terms. Then what happens, of course, is that the "leisure" won for the community by labour-saving machinery is thrust upon some individuals in the form of unemployment! In a way that is just as simple, though just as fantastically paradoxical, wealth-producing power results, under these conditions in poverty. Driven by competition, people give an amount of labour and demand a "real wage" that do not correspond correctly with the total power to supply.

Evidently the labour the worker gives and the produce he takes for it, should be adjusted to each other. Under conditions in which both are fixed in the haphazard of competition, there are not and there cannot always be enough work for all and insecurity thus accompanies "industrial progress."

The whole occurs through the workers not having a second string to their bow, as the community we have just given as an example would have. It was particularly insisted in the Calcutta University publications that this state of affairs is not good for the capitalists as a class, the question of remedying it therefore is not a class-question.

Now on the straight road to her own emancipation, and to the solution of her problems, India could inaugurate a new departure that promises to be the best possible lever we could have to compel nations to reforms in these matters; and that is what the Calcutta University publications deal with particularly.

The co-operators, who, for the last century have been organising so successfully that co-operation has become about the most important social movement of our day, have been all along telling us that none of the fundamentally evil features of our social system would be able to continue if the workers would organise themselves so as to have some degree of economic independence; because then they would be in a position to refuse to work for any system—or of course government—that maintained features that were fundamentally bad. The co-operators, thus, were constructive "non-co-operators"; but, of course, highly constructive.

Hitherto, however, all attempts to reform our social system in that simple way have failed.

Owing to the great complexity of modern life, and modern methods of production, it is very difficult indeed for people to be economically independent; and we have come to realise now that the co-operators have set out on a very long journey and seem to have lost themselves on the way, and even to have lost sight of their goal.

Numerous attempts were made at first to go straight to the goal, to establish commonwealths in which people would produce the more ordinary necessaries of life for themselves, and become thus practically independent; the advocates of this plan argued, and no doubt correctly, that if a few succeeded, more and more would join making the work easier and easier, because the larger an organisation of that kind, the better it can subdivide labour, and the better methods it can use; they hoped, thus, to have soon a powerful organisation that would be able to compel our social system to put itself in order,—failing which it would get no good workers. They were not successful, however, owing to lack of the discipline, without which no industrial organisation can succeed. For discipline, it is necessary to have workers who depend on their wage for their living, whereas the co-operative commonwealths had to call for self-sacrificing volunteers, whom they could not pay adequately, and over whom, therefore, they had no proper control. They got, moreover, as workers, the type of people who are of all, the least amenable to discipline.

Now to cut a long story short, what the Calcutta University publications insist on, is that, if those who are working for the emancipation of India would turn their entire energies to constructive work, there is every reason to hope that they would be able to do in India, where the conditions are infinitely more suitable, what the co-operators failed to do in the West, and in that manner put their country on the way to emancipation, solve her most urgent problems specially those of education and unemployment, and give a practical example that would be of absolutely priceless value to the whole world at the present day.

These publications, however, urge that most hopeful way to begin is by an application of the co-operative colony idea to education, which would be a revival in a modernised form of the old Indian plan of the *gurukula*, which was an educational "co-operative colony," managed by the *guru*.

Progress has given us extraordinary facilities for such a revival of the old *gurkula* idea, and now that we all feel the need of a more practical education system, this seems to be the plan to adopt.

Two economic facts render this possible. The first of these is that modern industrial and agricultural methods enable us to make very great use of the labour of boys, in a suitable organisation: the other, which is often overlooked, though it is of equal importance, is that, owing to our complicated trade methods, there is often a very great difference between the price at which things can be produced in a good organisation, and that at which they are retailed to the consumer.

Owing to these combined facts, we might now start this modern application of the *gurukula* idea in very simple ways, and hope to see it extend rapidly, and become an enormous organisation, having the most profound and far-reaching effects on every Indian question and giving abundant employment for middle-class men.

A very simple plan suggested for a start, is to take town school boys daily, or several times a week, to schools outside the towns, in which, whilst going on with their studies, they would be trained to cultivate the land, also trained in workshops if they wanted to learn industries. By virtue of the second named economic fact, they would earn appreciably by taking produce to their homes, even before their labour had any value.

Now we have had some experience of these things, and some opportunity to know what can be done successfully at the start, and what cannot. We could insure success by having these *gurukulas* organised on the plan of groups of small holdings and small industries. We might have each small holding and workshop the private enterprise of the person in charge of it, who would manage it in his own way, and, whenever possible, with his own capital, conforming, however, to certain conditions of the educational organization. Among those conditions would be that he would give to boys working for him a certain amount of remuneration in kind, from the time they had sufficient experience to be of some use; and that from the beginning he would give them produce to take home, for the wholesale price, so that they would be able to earn the distributor's wage.

Now these "educational colonies," extending into the country districts, employing village lads using good modern methods, by which they would be able to produce as much in half a day as they would by working a whole day at home, promise to solve the problem of popular education together with that of unemployment among educated men.

The matter has been long and carefully considered in Calcutta University. A description of the scheme was appended to the Report of the Calcutta University Commission. (Vol. VII, p. 18) and widely circularised in every country for opinions. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, at whose instance this was done, declared that " the result was entirely satisfactory; there were, in fact, only favourable comments." In every quarter the hope was expressed that India would give a practical example which might show all countries the way to great progress.

Looking at the question from another point of view that is also of the greatest national importance, sociologists know now that, though adults may, under proper conditions, maintain their health in towns, children seem to suffer seriously in their development from the lack of pure country air. Nothing could be more hopeful from every point of view especially for modern urbanised nations than to take the town children to "educational colonies" outside the towns, where they would follow the programme briefly outlined above. It might be possible even to use the class-rooms for dormitories for *half* the children, so that they might go to the school one morning returning the next evening, and, in that manner, spend perhaps thirty-five hours out of the forty-eight in the country to their immense benefit, whilst receiving a practical training that would give them all their lives a second string to their bow, and an unfailing one.

It is important to emphasise that, owing to the economic strength such an organisation would have, the school years would, for every reason, he made longer under this plan, and the school hours shorter, and boys, on the whole, would have much better opportunities for good healthy games, not the reverse.

This simple plan offers a solution at once for many of the most pressing of our social questions.

People brought up in this way would be able, if ever they found themselves unemployed, to return to a similar organisation for adults, in which, by virtue of the same economic facts, they would be able to get maintenance, and a bonus after a certain period. By proper arrangements being made, a married man, even a man with a family, would be able to earn his bonus in quite a reasonable time, the wife and elder children helping. Having earned this bonus, with his knowledge of cultivation, and with his practical industrial training, he would always have a chance of making a living.

In this perfectly simple manner, industrial progress has opened up to us possibility of making unemployment a thing entirely of the past. The Calcutta University publications give practical illustrations that make it evident that this solution is undoubtedly possible if the organisations are large enough, and suitable; and that in England and other countries, just as much as in India, this co-operative organisation of the young, would give the most hopeful foundation for co-operation to build upon, and promises to have very far-reaching social effects; the most eminent authorities on the subject are quoted in support of that view. Apart, however from that, the educational colony" plan is in itself of extraordinary interest to Great Britain also.

In the first place, as regards solving the problem of unemployment, it would help simply and directly, by bringing up the young in a way that would fit them to be capable colonists. As regards the garden-city movement, which one may say is striking at the root of our modern social evils, it also will begin to do great things from the moment it begins to study the possibilities of starting thus with the children, the most easily removable element of the population. Educational colonies, could easily be made to develop into industrial and residential suburbs and would give great opportunities for planning on the garden city lines.

Now the question for the earnest enquirer is what examples we can actually point to, illustrating machine-production and capitalism working reasonably well, and what prospects there are of the good examples we have, being followed and becoming general if we pave the way to them by a suitable education system.

As a matter of fact, the workers appear to be at their best, morally, physically and economically where they combine industrial occupations with the cultivation of the land.

The reasons for this are very clear.

Earnest work is what gives man moral stamina. The work he does earnestly is that which is done for himself with the energy, application and intelligence with which a man works when it is for himself. The work that develops him is that which demands of him that he shall use his judgment independently and his intelligence as well as his thews and senews; work on the land does that.

On the other hand, however, a man working separately and independently has to labour hard to get the necessaries of life. Strenuous exertion is good, but incessant grinding toil is not, and may become brutalising. We can, therefore, very easily understand that the best conditions seem to be those under which the man works independently for a part of the day and in an efficient organisation for another part. Very obviously also it may be good in every way, for him to work part of the day in co-operation with his fellowmen to make the most efficient use of combined efforts.

The next question is why this system is not more general.

The first answer, of course, is that a very large proportion of the workers in Belgium cultivate land, and go daily to work in the factory. Belgium has, with great wisdom, rendered this possible by a railway system, in which, before the war, working men were conveyed up to about six and a half miles for one pice.

It is not done more generally, however, because at present the difficulty of getting sufficient land conveniently situated stands fatally in the way.

Workers will not take to the cultivation of the land as a second string to their bow unless they can have, quite near their dwellings, so much land that it will give them a certain economic independence, so that they will not be obliged to leave their home and their holding immediately if they lose their employment in the factory. They must also know that if they have to move to another place in search of new employment they will be able to get land there too. Without these conditions they will not learn the art of cultivation and will not use a plot well. Given proper conditions this plan, as Belgium illustrates, can solve our great problems. Slack times of the factory have no terror to the man who has some land; even total unemployment does not leave him in poverty, if only he has a very small insurance and he has a second string to his bow.

The next question is whether the workers, if they could be given the opportunity, would work everywhere on this plan.

The answer is that for a variety of important reasons a very large class of food-stuffs can be produced much more economically, and at the same time are much better from a garden round the house than purchased from the shops. Many articles of food are utterly unsuitable for trade being bulky and in every way awkward to handle commercially and very perishable. This class of produce in fact forms a marked exception to the general law of subdivison of production, and should normally be produced by the worker for himself; so that, generally speaking the worker, if he has enough land, will for economic reasons want a short day in the factory to have time for the cultivation of his own plot; leading industrialists have now agreed that the system of short periods in the factory, in well oganised shifts, is perfectly possible.

In connection with this question, however, there is one thing of the very greatest importance and hopefulness. We must begun with the young.

Men vary very much indeed. There are some who prefer to spend their whole day working in the factory, where they have not to think, but only to go on mechanically with the same task. But even in their case the land will be the means of economic and social salvation. Children at least take keenly to work on the land if given proper encouragement and instruction, and of course if not overworked, and thus given a distaste for it. As sociologists who have studied the subject know, there is nothing more remarkable than the atavism by which children take naturally and keenly to this primitive occupation of the race. A proper schools system therefore, is all that is wanted to insure that the children at least will cultivate the home plot. Then, to some extent, it will become an excellent hobby and second string to the bow even of the parent who is a whole-day factory worker cares little for anything else.

Now let us turn to the practical aspect of this solution.

The garden city movement which has established itself in every country in the West has of late opened peoples' eyes to the fact that must be made universally possible for workers to have this second string to their bow which will remove the evils of our industrial system and give us the normal benefits of progress.

Railways have rendered it possible for us, as we might express it, to project the growth of cities to points at a distance from them where the land is still cheap, and where we could have town-planning on the garden-city principle, with the "agricultural belts" that are required.

With the travelling facilities we have now, we might compel people to establish factories a few miles from the towns, subsidising workingmen's trains if necessary at first until garden cities grew up around the new factories, and we might also compel people to build workers' dwellings a few miles away, giving the same facilities until industries came to the new suburbs.

Given a suitable land system we might thus dissolve the present agglomerations of population. The cost of doing it would be nothing more than perhaps some expenditure on subsidising workmens' trains. The financial gain—apart entirely from any sociological considerations—would be enormous, as we should in that way turn millions of acres that have now only low value as rural land into gardens and accommodation land of enormously more value.

Owing to the colossal financial gain that would result, decentralisation might be carried on very rapidly—if it were preceded by land reform. It is impossible, however, under the land system in which the values of land created by the public are all owned by private individuals.

This brings us then to the real answer to the question why machine production and capitalism are giving bad results.

It is that *the West has advanced from the age of agriculture and handicrafts to the age of factories and towns with the land system of a primitive rural age, and this has put its entire economic and social system out of adjustment, with the terrible results we now witness.*

The conditions brought about by progress' make the public the creator of land values, but we have still kept the private individuals as owners of those values when thy are made. The result of this topsy turvedom, of the one party making the value of land, and the other owing it, has been to render impossible the proper planning of towns.

Town-planning is a process in which very great expenditure is incurred, sites are sacrificed, and the owners have to be compensated, but the result of the expenditure, and of the sacrifice of values at some places, is to create enormous values at others. Town-planning, therefore, is a money-making process, but of course absolutely impossible under a system in which land values are made by one party and owned when made by another! Under these abnormal conditions town planning can be carried out only to a trifling extent for the beautification of towns, but not on the scale that is required to make them suitable to modern economic requirements, and make our industrial system work healthily.

Looking at the actual facts, what we find, then, is that India has not to avoid machine-production, or even capitalism if only there are prospects of her having them under sane condition, and not the calamitiously irrational ones into which Europe has fallen owing to industrial progress having gone much faster than political progress could move.

When we know the true facts, we find ourselves in presence of a situation of the most extraordinary interest.

We must look at this question from a world point of view, some country will have to give the lead with land reform and the rest will follow, but each has its contribution to make, and India's contribution may be of paramount importance in hastening matters for the "educational colony" would speed things up as nothing else could.

But now let us look at Great Britain which is confronted with the fact that owing to a crudely defective land system she has a disastrous amount of unemployment, and has her population crowded into towns where, despite all modern sanitation, there is an amount of physical deterioration that the Departmental Committee recently appointed to investigate the matter described as "appalling"; towns in which moreover people are in danger of being almost exterminated in war by air bombardment and long-distance bomba rdment; to which is added the danger of being starved by submarines cutting off the food supplies; for this state of affairs is fatal to the prosperity of home agriculture, as Great Britain knows only too well.

It is freely admitted that, of all the defects of our social system, the anomalies that arise in connection with private land ownership in advanced countries are the crudest. Indeed it is not possible for the imagination to conceive anything more absurd than the state of affairs which now exists, in which the value of the land is made by the public, and no longer by the individual, but the ownership of the values has not been correspondingly changed, so that we have now the topsy-turvy position of the values being made by one party and owned when they are made by another; improvements involving expenditure being consequently impossible.

But although people will admit all this, they will not always face the fact that this state of topsy-turvydom is responsible for our industrial progress being a failure. There are many selfish reasons, a kind of false pride, selfish fears of changes, that keep people from looking at all the facts and owning the truth.

Such pride as Western nations still have in their great material progress, in their applications of science to practical affairs, and immense industrial enterprise, is all reduced to naught if it has to be admitted that it is through an act of supreme political ineptitude—the result of the selfish and short-sighted quarrels between the "haves" and the "have-nots"—that their whole progress has been made a failure from the point of view of human welfare. It is human after all to fail to take the trouble to understand all the facts in connection with a matter that, when thoroughly understood leads one to complete humiliation.

In this connection the popular parties are doing the very worst thing possible. By clamouring loudly for measures of land reform that would be as unjust as the system they are designed to rectify, or demanding the nationalisation of the land which, for sentimental, but nevertheless strong reasons, is abhorrent to many people; they make land reform look a very difficult matter, and give people a welcome excuse for turning from it, as a thing that is not practically possible, evading the whole question.

That, in general terms, has been the position in the West hitherto.

Recent developments, however, have made it so obvious that the real faults of our land system could be removed without either land nationalisation or any attack whatever on vested interests, and at the same time have made it so clear that our misfit land system has become calamitous in its results, that people are beginning to realise now the need of taking up the land question in a non-party spirit, and with an entirely constructive object. Already more thoughtful organs of public opinion, even among those representing the propertied classes, have expressed approval of suggestions for constructive land reform on the lines simply of what is called the national purchase of the "speculative value" of the land.

In a word, then, the conditions under which machine production and capitalism give bad results are not only absolutely abnormal, but they have become, under modern conditions, so calamitous in the case of more advanced countries, and specially in that of Great Britain, that it seems absolutely impossible that they should continue much longer.

We have now in the garden-city and other associations, great organised groups of people working hard for their removal, and, contemplating the condition of Europe to-day, one can but say that if there is a God in Heaven, and some sincerity and intelligence among men, we may hope that the propaganda that is being carried out for the reform of the hideous anomaly that makes our entire industrial system bad, will soon be successful.

It is hopeful in this connection that reform is quite as necessary from the point of view of prosperity—particularly perhaps of agriculture—as it is from that of social welfare.

It is now understood by thoughtful reformers that as soon as this crude anomaly of our system has been remedied great "development" measures will be possible that will increase immensely the prosperity of every country, specially perhaps that of agriculture, which is of such fundamental importance. It can hardly be denied by anyone who has seriously studied the subject that Europe might save itself entirely from the evil condition in which it is now, by constructive land reform alone.

The Engineer has shown us how the conditions of the present day, that is to say travelling by public conveyances, demand the lineal development of towns of which India gives no many examples rather than a circular.

They demand the concentration of traffic along certain lines, where there will then be rapid succession of trains and cheap fares. Such a plan would also enable us to have roads for fast and slow traffic, which modern methods of road locomotion demand. Quite apart, therefore, from sociological considerations and considerations of safety in war, looking from the point of view of convenience of transport, a suitable plan under modern conditions would be of towns consisting of a business centre and a number of lineal residential suburbs radiating out from it. From every modern point of view, therefore, the same thing exactly is demanded, namely the development of well-planned suburbs. The economist can show also that the financial gain, under a rational land system, that would accrue from rapid development of garden-suburbs, would be so great, that immense enterprise of that kind could be undertaken immediately after the reform was adopted. The result would be to give an enormous amount of employment at once, bringing into existence the conditions under which, as we see from the example of Belgium, unemployment practically does not occur; the conditions also that are the most favourable to the prosperity of agriculture. The sociologist is able to show further that people are so much more healthy, so much more sober, so much more law-abiding under the favourable conditions of the garden-suburb, than they are in the socially unfavourable ones of crowded towns, that the national savings under these headings would represent, capitalised, a sum that would be nothing short of colossal.

Taking the various items together, it can easily be calculated that, given some reasonable measure of land reform, it would be enormously profitable to all industrially advanced countries to develop garden-suburbs to their towns very rapidly indeed. I am able to say myself that I maintained in a correspondence that went on in the *Westminster Gazette* for six weeks that it would absolutely pay to get to work to rebuild our towns. The correspondence was summed up in an article in the *Westminster Review*, and produced in pamphlet form, and circulated without any attempt being made at contradicting the facts.

It can also be shown—and it was a point dealt with in the Calcutta University publication[1]—that it is not at all beyond human ingenuity to use the unutilised man-power in every country where there is unemployment, to carry out this change, if we regard it, as we should, as a matter of urgent national importance, justifying special measures.

There can be no doubt, thus, that constructive land reform alone might rapidly transform our entire civilisation and earnest social workers at work pressing on the attention of all patriotic and humane people in Great Britain the fact that there is no need for the British nation, eighty per cent. of which is now urban, to continue to live under conditions that produce physical deterioration, and under which they might be slaughtered almost in a night in the event of war; under which also British agriculture cannot prosper, and under which the workers are being demoralised by free maintenance.

They are urging also that, from the moment a simple constructive measure of land reform had been adopted, which nobody would have any reason to oppose, and that no one but a monster of selfishness would oppose, even if he had a reason important steps could be taken at once to relieve unemployment and a great deal of poverty.

Times are ripe, and more than ripe for the sociological change that will give our industrial system the chance of working rationally and of giving humane results, instead of irrationally, and giving inhumane ones. Light is needed on this subject, in connection with which there are such extraordinary prejudices to be overcome, that the simple truth seems hardly able to penetrate.

India is the critic of our modern civilisation, not its blind apologist. Let her now be a fair and intelligent critic, pointing out correctly and scientifically why it has failed, and why she fears Western civilisation under present conditions, and she will give the most valuable help to those who are working for reform.

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[1] "Man and Machine Power in War and Reconstruction." Calcutta University, Rs. 1-8-0.

The whole question is of the very deepest human interest from any point of view, and in these days of political activity, it ought to be correctly understood by all, as an object lesson to every student of politics and sociology.

But the profoundly interesting fact is that India if she would carry out constructively her plan of emancipaion might give a lead of the very greatest importance in the direction of establishing the co-operative organisation of the young, the modern *gurukula* which, all agree, would be the most powerful possible lever to move things with.

As "Capital" the leading financial paper of the East said writing of what Calcutta University had done in this respect; never perhaps has any university taken such steps to make known the facts in connection with a plan to solve social problems, and now it behoves all educated people in India to take the matter up.

A strong committee has been formed to take practical steps, of which Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is President. Maharajah of Kasimbazar who financed the preliminary experiment in this direction Colonel Sidney, M.L.A., and Calcutta's leading financier and Rajah Reshee Case Law and Sir Asutosh Chowdhury are the Vice-Presidents.

J. W. PETAVEL

Reviews

Administrative System of the Marathas by Surendra Nath Sen, M.A. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1923.

This is an able and learned work on Mahratha administration and is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Mahratha policy. The author has studied books and records and his aim is to show that the Mahrattas never were in their early days robbers and plunderers. I doubt, however, if he has succeeded in proving his point. Whatever the Mahratta governments may now be, they certainly began as marauders and in Bengal and Orissa the Borgis, as they used to be called, are even now a name of terror. They are the Highlanders of the East and till late in the 18th and even for the first quarter of the 19th century might have been described as "Ance robbers and noo thieves," to use the lowland Scotsman's sarcastic translation of the worshipful Highland Society's motto. Sivaji was a genius and a liberator of his people, but he was also a murderer and a worshipper of Bhowānī. One cannot refuse admiration of his skill and daring, and of the romance of his career and especially to his and his son's wonderful escape from Delhi. But he was not a statesman, and was, I believe, wholly illiterate. He cannot be compared for generalship and width of view to the Abyssinian Malik Ambar and the best known feature of his revenue administration seems to be the institution of *chaut*, that is, the levy of one-fourth for protection which he and his descendants did not always give. His best praise, perhaps, is that he left the old system of peasant-proprietorship much as he found it.

According to Mr. Surendra Nath Sen the most important English work on Maratha revenue administration is Major Jervis's Memoir. But it does not appear to me that he has read the really important part of Major Jervis's writings. If he surveyed the Konkan he must have left a mass of official literature on the subject. And surely his papers must exist in the Record Rooms of the Bombay Government or in the Bombay Secretariat. But Mr. Surendra Nath makes no mention of such documents. What he does refer to, is what he calls in page 13 of Introduction, "Jervis geographical and statistical memoir of the Konkan." But it does not appear that this is an official document. It first appeared in the R. A. S. J., Bombay Branch, in 1835 after Elphinstone had left. It was reprinted at Calcutta in 1840. It is dedicated to the members of the Indian Civil Service, and apparently never was regarded as an authoritative document. It is in fact a philosophical Essay, on the Revenue Laws of India, and is adorned with quotations from Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy. It resembles the disquisition of Boughton Rous and others, but it is surely neither official report of a Superintendent of Survey, it is more like some of the papers in the famous Fifth Report but is not as full or interesting as Mr. Seristadar Grant Report. As Mr. Surendra Nath says Jervis never quotes any authority.

The British were in possession of part of the Konkan before the Marathas and the Portuguese were still earlier, and surely there must be records of their collections. Indeed Mr. Surendra Nath says that there are masses of state papers in the Goa Archives but apparently neither he nor Mr. Justice Ranade ever looked at them. As for the Bakhars, they seem to be too late and too untrustworthy to throw any light on Shivaji's career.

It may be that the story of Shivaji's Portuguese origin is apocryphal but so also are other stories about his origin.

H. BEVERIDGE

The Awakening of Asian Womanhood by Margaret E. Cousins, B.Mus. (Ganesh & Co., Madras).

Mrs. Cousins, whose name is certainly not unknown to the Indian public, has been enjoying a double triumph—the adoption of the woman's franchise by the U. P. Government (and by Bengal also though only by the casting vote of the President) and her own appointment as the first woman to hold a judicial post in India. Soon after her double triumph we were informed of the glad tidings of the first Indian woman (Miss Tata) to be called to the Bar in England. With all these visible proofs of woman's work around us, in the achievement of which Mrs. Cousins has indeed played a leader's *rôle,* we assuredly agree with the opening words of the book (in the "Publishers' Note"): "The makers of history have no time to be the writers of it."

And yet we find here one of these leaders writing not exactly a history of the movement but rather about the inwardness of it. The inward spirit that inspires womanhood all the world over, and especially in Asia, is the most significant and the most hopeful sign for the future. I think it was Olive Schreiner who once wrote that wars would really become impossible when women come to their own, for they who give birth to and nourish human bodies would not lightly allow them to be wantonly destroyed. The hope of the world indeed lies with the woman. The coming civilisation, if it is to be of any value whatever, must give the fullest scope to woman. The great Goethe saw it quite a century ago and gave it as his very last message to the world (in the closing words of his *Faust*) :

Das Ewig-Weibliche
Zieht uns hinan."
(The ever womanly
Draws us above.)

The woman-soul is indeed to lead the world on to its next stage of progress.

In the East the woman has been more or less a subordinate of man in practice. But I really believe that Western writers have had a tendency to exaggerate the subjugation of the Asiatic woman. Most of them conveniently forget the very high ideal of womanhood—of the Mother—always held in Asia. The Madonna who has inspired the highest in European art, is essentially the Mother as conceived by the Asiatic. And no ideal of womanhood and of her *absolute equality* with man can be higher than the great concept of the *Ardhanārīśvara* (the God-Half-Woman) of Hinduism. A magnificent statue of this being (Man-Woman) is to be seen in the great Kailas temple at Ellora.

The ideal has always been high but the practice has been always sadly behind the preaching in Asia. But we must maintain that Asia has scarcely reached the depths of degradation of womanhood which the West seems to have reached. The very fact that there has been practically no struggle for winning the recognition of woman's place in India, shows how natural is the idea of woman's equal position to the Indian.

Mrs. Cousins has a wonderful capacity of understanding the Asiatic, and especially the Indian, psychology. She has so completely become one of ourselves that she is fully entitled to speak for our women. Like that other noble soul—Nivedita, she has correctly interpreted the yearnings of the Asiatic woman's heart. She feels the fresh blood surging through her veins and she sees the woman of Asia coming to the fulness of her stature, as the equal partner of man. The Lord of Asia had been working so long only with his right side, but the left side (the side of the heart) is now beginning to co-operate. When we get once more the God-Half-Woman in our midst, then and then alone shall Asia be what she once was—the true fountain of the world's spirituality.

Mrs. Cousins has tried to show us something of this new spirit awakening into consciousness. Her language is inimitable, her vision true, and her heart full of love for her (shall I say ?) adopted sisters.

Post-Graduate

Dissertation on Painting by Mohendra Nath Datt, Foreword by Professor Abanindra Nath Tagore, D.Litt. (Seva Series Publishing House, 3, Sagur Dhur Lane, Calcutta 19[illegible], cloth bound Rs. 3-4.)

Fine arts are the expressions of the real mind and spirit of nations. They bear the tinge and colouring of the national character and national temperament and form the pulse by which the heart of a nation is felt and are the symbols through which the hidden inner life of the nation is represented (much better than history, memoirs or biography can express).

A peep into the art of Indian painting, as given in a recent publication, the Dissertation on Painting, by a savant of uncommon culture, will be considered of great interest and immense value at a time when the true spirit of Indian art has long been lost sight of, and its worth has dwindled down in the estimate of modern people. The modern historian finds in the ancient Indian sculpture and painting "a decadent and degenerate copy of a Greeko-Roman prototype" and holds that they have "ceased to have any importance when that Western influence was withdrawn." Thus the cause of Indian culture like many other aspects of its national life has been suffering under "the unconscious bias of the European archæologists"; and as it has been regretted by a sympathetic critic "there is still that insidious form of vandalism in our departmental system—much more cruel and deadly than active iconoclasm, because it acts through mind instead of matter—which continues blindly to crush out the means by which Indians might yet surpass the greatness of her ancient art" (E. B. Havell). But as has been observed by the same critic, "the Greeks no more created Indian sculpture and painting than they created Indian philosophy and religion." Their æsthetic ideas were essentially different from that of Indians; and they never at any time imposed them upon Indian art, which, in its distinctive and essential character, is entirely the product of Indian thought and Indian artistic genius. What is thus gathered from the outward observation of the remnants of ancient Indian art *quo* art, has been examined and explained in much detail and from a much more fundamental point of view by the author of the Dissertation on Painting in a way quite unique and original.

Indeed it is the first attempt to give a philosophical explanation of the art of painting and, along with it, of fine arts in general in these days. Those who are for looking through the real spirit of a great ancient culture—its aim, method and attainment, those who find themselves interested in it in any way or are prejudicial against it, those who find themselves perplexed in the marts of modern arts, those who are disgusted with or are lost in the present confusion of artistic appreciation and archæological theories, and lastly, those who intend to mark the distinction generally along with these, between the arts of the East and the West, and between their ways of life and also to rescue the one from the influence of the other if deemed necessary, will find in the "Dissertation" an indispensable text of reading. The tone of the book is philosophical but the treatment scientific.

B. B. D.

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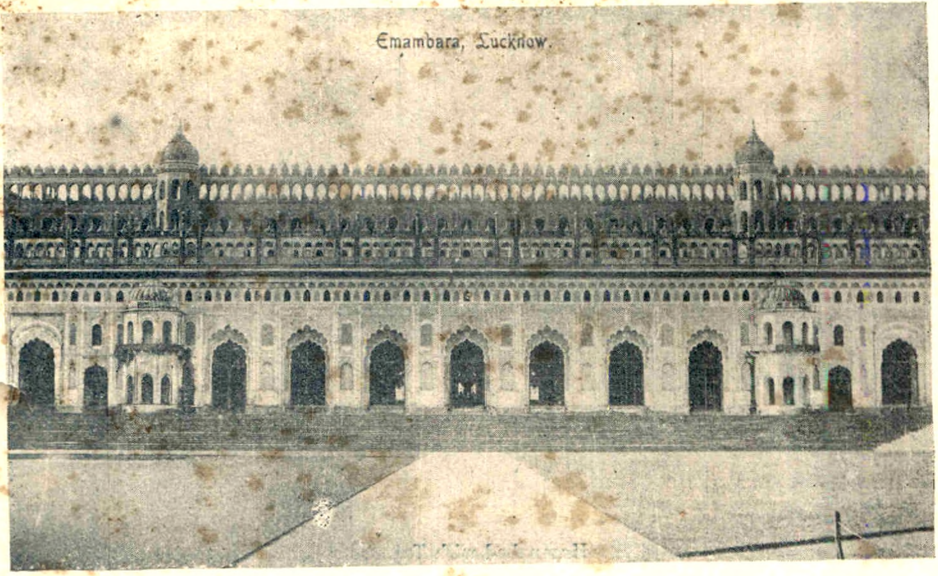
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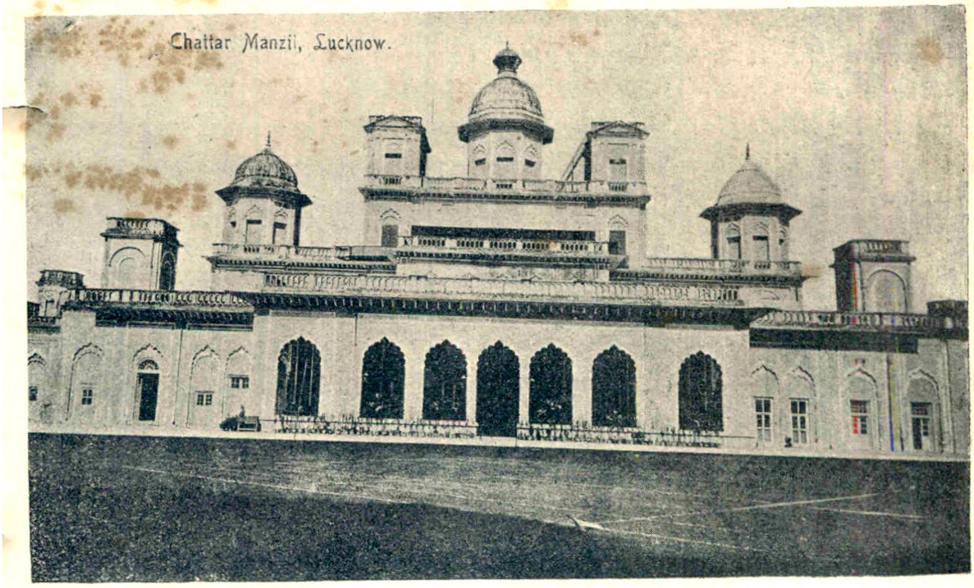
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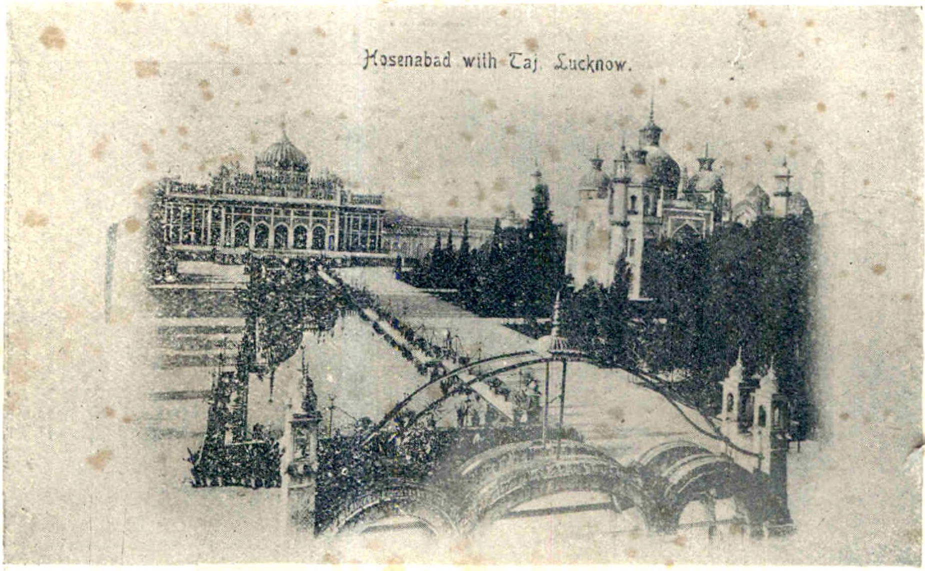
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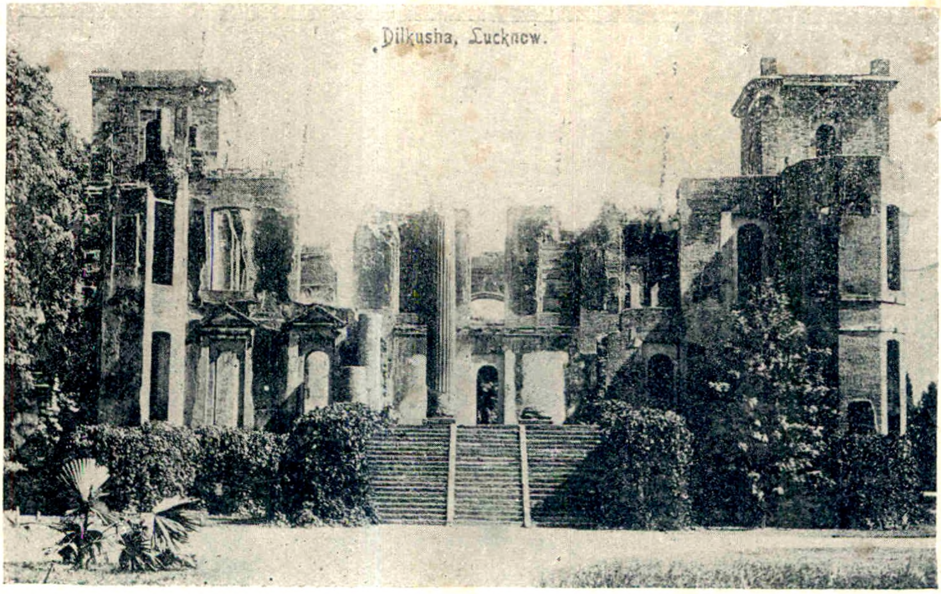
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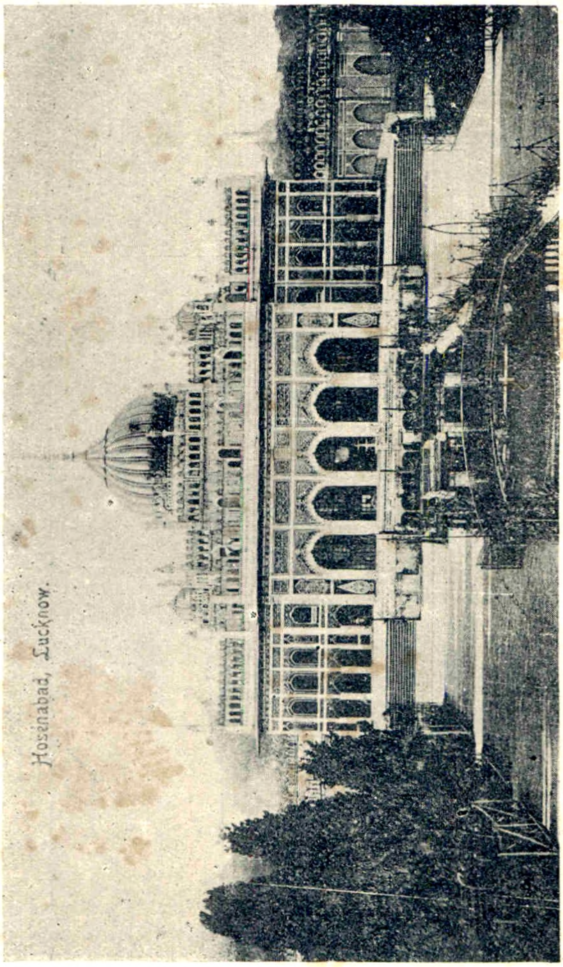
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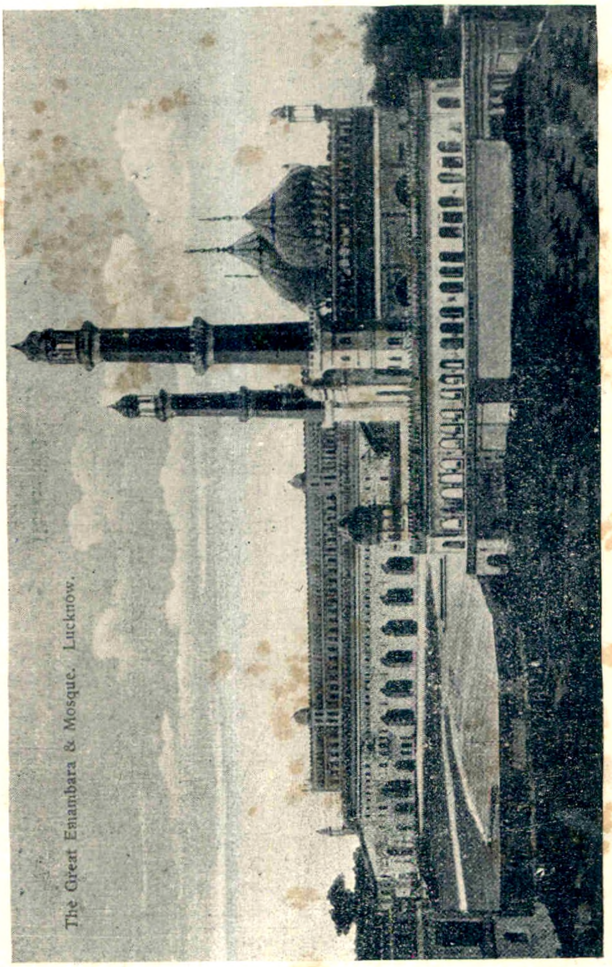
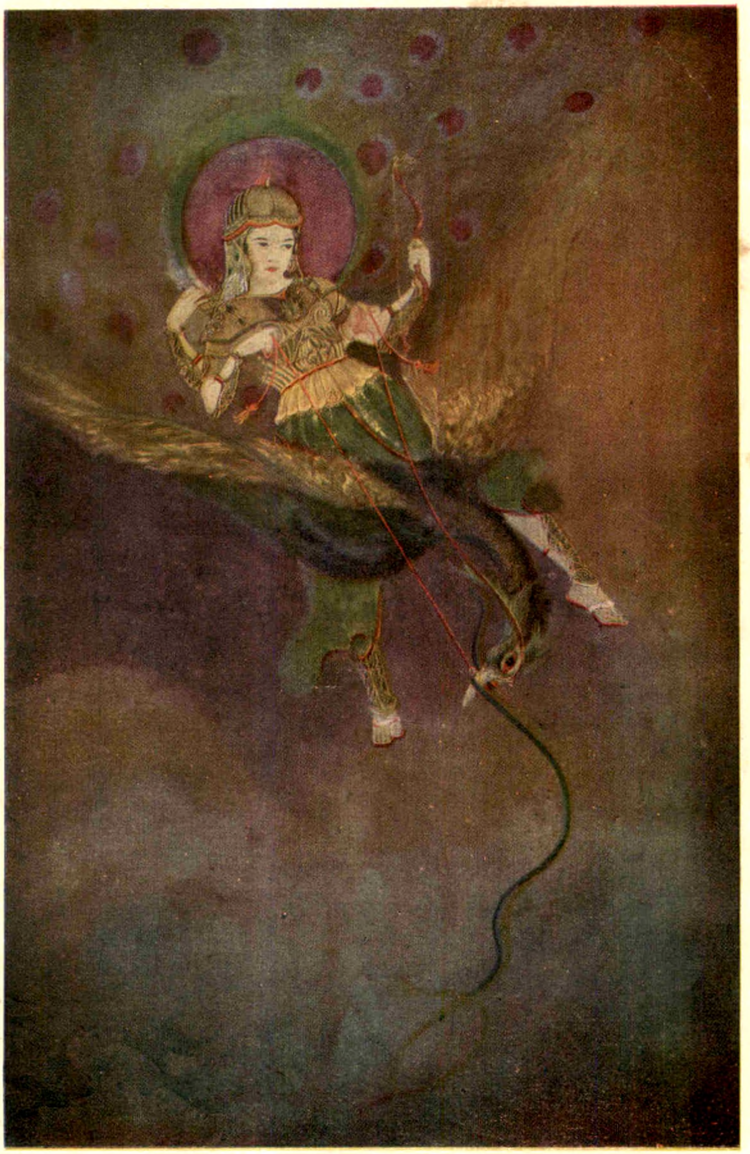

The Great Emambara & Mosque. Lucknow.

The Great Emambara and Mosque



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(*By courtesy of the Bangabani*)

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THE AGE OF THE VEDA

First of all I have to thank the authorities of this University for honouring me with an invitation to lecture to their students and graduates. For one who has made the study of Indian literature and culture his life's work for the last forty years, it is naturally the fulfilment of a long-cherished desire to come to India, to see with his bodily eye the land and the people with whom he has for many years been familiar in the spirit. That this fulfilment has come to me at last, for this I cannot be thankful enough to the poet Rabindranath Tagore who has extended to me his kind invitation to lecture at *Visvabharati*—this ingenious and courageous attempt at realising a poet's dream. It has been a great delight to me to lecture to and to work with the students of this new University at Santiniketan and it is a new pleasure to me to be able to-day to open a course of lectures for the students of this her much older sister University.

When I first came to Calcutta I was asked by an Indian lady, how I came to be interested in Indian literature. She seemed to think it strange and somewhat extraordinary that a European should take an interest in the literature of India. And it may indeed seem strange to some of you that I as a non-Indian should speak to you about your own literature. But there is nothing wonderful at all in the interest we take in the West in the literature of India. For the history of the literary treasures of ancient India appears to us only as part and parcel of the history of man. In this sense Indian literature is as much ours as it is yours. The ideas and thoughts of great men belong to mankind, and not to any one country or nation only. To us, therefore, the history of Indian literature is nothing but one great chapter, one of the most brilliant and most important chapters in the history of the human mind.

It is also one of the most difficult chapters,—difficult on account of the lack of absolutely certain historical data. The chronology of Indian literature is shrouded in darkness, so much so, that it is impossible to give any certain dates for its oldest periods. We have to be satisfied, if we can ascertain with a greater or lesser degree of *probability* the *limits* within which the oldest and most important literary works may be dated.

The first and the greatest and at the same time the most difficult of all the difficult problems in the history of Indian thought, is that of *the age of the Veda.*

The Veda stands at the head of Indian literature, not only on account of its age, but also because no one who has not gained an insight into the Vedic literature can ever understand the intellectual and spiritual life and the culture of India. This is a matter of course for Brahmanic India, as Brahmanism is based on the Veda. But Buddhism also and all other Indian creeds, can never be fully understood by one who knows nothing of the Veda. For in some way or other all Indian religions are linked to the thoughts contained in the *Upanishads,* the latest productions of Vedic literature which presuppose the Brāhmaṇas as these again presuppose the hymns and prayers of the *Vedic Saṃhitās*, above all the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, which is doubtless the oldest Indian and most probably also the oldest Indo-European literary monument. How important it would be to know the exact date of such a monument! And yet we have to confess that up to now the views of the best scholars differ with regard to the age of the Veda not by centuries, but by millenniums, that some scholars lay down the year 1000 B.C. as the lowest limit for the Ṛgvedic hymns, while others would go back to a period between 3000 and 2500 B.C. When the views of eminent scholars differ from each other so very much it is not sufficient to state the different opinions, but it becomes necessary to enter into the details of the question and to examine the arguments on which these scholars base their divergent views; to give a full account of the present state of the question and to show how far it is possible to arrive at any more or less definite conclusions, and how far we must resign ourselves to confessing that we do not know anything more at present.

When Indian literature became first known in the West, people were inclined to ascribe a hoary age to every literary work hailing from India. They used to look upon India as something like the cradle of mankind, or at least of human civilization. The better, however, we became acquainted with Indian literature, the more this view had to be given up, and scholars became cautious and suspicious and a tendency arose, to make everything as late as possible. Indians, on the other hand, have always had a sentimental inclination, to consider their most important works of literature, above all the Veda, as immensely old. According to the orthodox Brahmanical view, indeed, the Veda has been created at the beginning of the world and is no human work at all. The historian has to abandon this view, and he has to free himself from all preconceived opinions and inclinations. I, for my part, do not understand why some Western scholars are so anxious to make the hymns of the Ṛgveda and the civilisation which is reflected in them so very much later than Babylonian and Egyptian culture. Nor do I understand why Indians should think that it adds anything to, or detracts anything from, the *value* of the most beautiful hymns of the Ṛgveda or the deepest passages of the Upanishads according as they are believed to be a thousand or five hundred years older or later.

The first scholarly attempt at fixing the age of the Veda was made by Max Müller in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" published in 1859. Starting from the few definite facts of Indian chronology we possess, the invasion of Alexander and the rise of Buddhism, he went on concluding as follows. Buddhism is nothing but a reaction against Brahmanism and it presupposes the existence of the entire Veda (Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upanishads). The whole of this literature, therefore, must be pre-Buddhistic, that is, it must have arisen before 500 B.C. The Vedānga and Sūtra literature probably arose simultaneously with the origin and early spread of Buddhism. These Sūtra works which Max Müller placed in the period from 600 to 200 B.C., presuppose the Brāhmaṇas. For the Brāhmaṇas of which there are older and newer ones and which contain long genealogical lists of teachers a period of at least 200 years must be assumed. Hence he dated the origin of the Brāhmaṇa literature from 800 to 600 B.C. The Brāhmaṇas again presuppose in their turn the Vedic Saṃhitās. At least 200 years were necessary for the compilation of all these collections of songs and prayers. Therefore, Max Müller argued, we may take the period of about 1000 to

800 B.C., as the time when the Vedic Saṃhitās were arranged. But this arrangement of the Saṃhitās which were already considered as sacred sacrificial poetry and sanctioned prayer books, must have been preceded by a period when the prayers and songs contained in them were composed as popular or religious poetry. This period, Max Müller concluded, must lie before 1000 B.C. And as he had assumed 200 years for what he called the "Brāhmaṇa period" and again 200 years for his "Mantra period," he also assumed 200 years for the growth of this poetry and so arrived at the date 1200 to 1000 B.C., as the beginning of Vedic poetry.

Now it was a mere guess on the part of Max Müller when he gave the dates 600 to 200 B.C. for the origin of the Sūtra literature. And the assumption of 200 years for each of the periods in the development of the Veda was quite arbitrary. Instead of 200 years he might just as well have said 300 or 400 years. Max Müller himself did not wish to say more than that our Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā must have been completed *at least* about 1000 B.C. That he meant no more by his tentative chronology than fixing a *minimum* date for the origin of the Vedic hymns, he stated clearly in his Gifford Lectures on Physical Religion (1890) where he says that we cannot hope to find the date, when the earliest Vedic hymns *began* to be composed. He says here: "Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 years B.C., no power on earth will ever determine."[1]

And yet, strange to say, although the foundation on which Max Müller's calculations were based, was so purely hypothetical and arbitrary, it had become a habit among scholars for a long time, to speak of 1200 to 1000 B.C., as the date of the Ṛgveda, which Max Müller was said to have established. And to many people it appeared as something like a heresy when (in the year 1899) the Indian scholar Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the German scholar H. Jacobi (simultaneously though independently from each other, tried to prove a much higher age of the Veda. Both these scholars started from astronomical calculations. They both came (though on different ways) to the conclusion that in the time of the Brāhmaṇas the Kṛttikas (Pleiades, which were the first of the 27 Nakshatras coincided with the vernal equinox, but that in Vedic texts we also find traces of an older calendar in which the vernal equinox fell in Mṛgaśiras (Orion). Now certain astronomical calculations lead to the result that about 2500 B. C. the vernal equinox fell in the Pleiades and about 4500 in the Orion. Tilak concluded from this that some Vedic texts go back to the year 6000 B.C., while Jacobi placed the beginning of Vedic culture, that is, of the epoch to which the Vedic hymns belong at about 4500 B. C., and he assumed that this epoch extended from about 4500 to 2500 B. C., and he would ascribe the Ṛgveda to the end of this period.

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[1] Max Müller—Physical Religion Gifford Lectures, new edition, 1898, p. 91.

In this view Jacobi was confirmed by another astronomical consideration. We find in the Gṛhyasūtras the description of an ancient Hindu marriage custom according to which the bride and bridegroom, after arriving in their new home had to sit silently on a bull's hide, until the stars became visible, whereupon the bridegroom pointed out to the bride the polar star, called *Dhruva*, 'the constant one' and said the Mantra 'be constant, prospering with me,' and she replied: 'Constant art thou, constant may I be in the house of my husband.' The name *Dhruva* and the whole ceremony prove that this polar star was considered to be unmovable and therefore a symbol of constancy, of conjugal fidelity. Such a name and such a custom can only have arisen at a time when a *bright* star was the polar star. A star, however, to which the name *Dhruva* could be applied, and which was bright enough to be pointed out at the marriage custom mentioned was near the Pole in the year 2780 B. C. To this time Jacobi would ascribe the origin of the name Dhruva and of the marriage custom of showing the 'constant' star to the bride. This custom is, however, not mentioned in the marriage hymn of the Ṛgveda. Jacobi, therefore, regards it as probable 'that the employment of the Dhruva in the wedding ritual belongs not to the time of the Ṛgveda but to the following period, and that, therefore, the Ṛgveda period of civilisation lies before the third millennium B.C.'

The arguments both of Tilak and of Jacobi have been severely criticised not only by Vedic scholars but also by such high authorities on Indian astronomy as Thibaut. The fact is that it is extremely difficult to be quite sure about the commencement of the year in different millenniums. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (12, 8, 2, 35) says: 'All seasons of the year are the first, all the middle ones and all the last.' And from early times the beginning of the year was reckoned in India sometimes with spring, sometimes with winter and sometimes with the monsoon. It has also been doubted whether the Indians in ancient times paid any attention to the equinoxes. Against Jacobi's argument taken from the Polar star and the Dhruva marriage rite it has been urged that the requirements of the ritual would be satisfied by any star of some magnitude which was appropriately polar."[1]

Lately B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar[2] has again tried by astronomical data about the Kṛttikās and about the beginning of the year to prove that the Brāhmaṇas belong to a period of approximately 2300 B.C. to 2000 B. C., which would lead us for the Ṛgveda to a period of about 4500 B. C., the date of B. G. Tilak.

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[1] Macdonell by and Keith, Vedic Index, I, p. 427.

[2] QuarterlyJournal of the Mythic Society, 1922.

It seems to me extremely difficult to follow all these astronomical arguments, and to build a chronological edifice on a foundation the solidity of which is at least subject to great doubts.

I, therefore, attach greater importance to the *historical arguments.* And on *historical* grounds the age of the Veda must, in my opinion, be placed nearer the date assumed by Jacobi and Tilak than to that adopted by Max Müller, Oldenberg, Macdonell and Keith. It seems to me impossible to account for the development of the Vedic literature from the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda to the later Upanishads and for the historical and political changes—which must have taken place from the times of the Ṛgveda to the period of the Sūtra literature which immediately followed the Upanishads within the space of 600 or 700 years from 1200 to 600 or 500 B.C.

Let us remember what the *Veda* really is. The Veda is neither one single book like the *Koran* nor a complete collection of a certain number of books compiled at some particular time as the Hebrew '*Old Testament*' or the Christian '*New Testament*' or the Buddhist '*Tipiṭaka.*' But what we call Veda is a whole *great literature*;[1] this literature consist of three distinct classes of literary productions. The first class of works are collections of hymns, prayers, magic songs and formulas (Saṃhitās) which were handed down in schools of priestly singers from generation to generation by word of mouth. Only one Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, two Atharvaveda Saṃhitās (the Śaunaka and the Paippalāda recensions), one Sāmaveda-Saṃhitā, four Saṃhitās of the Yayurveda and a fifth one only in fragments, have come down to us, but we know that many more

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[1] That may rather be compared with the Old Testament together with New Testament and with the Talmud than with any one of these.

Saṃhitās must have existed. The second class of works are the voluminous prose treatises, called *Brāhmaṇas,* containing chiefly discussions on the sacrifice, and the practical or mystical significance of the numerous rites and ceremonies connected with the great sacrifices. A great number of Brāhmaṇas, attached to each one of the Saṃhitās, has been preserved. But again we know, that many more had existed. The third class of works are the 'Āraṇyakas' and 'Upanishads,' texts containing secret doctrines both of ritual and philosophy, some of which are included in the Brāhmaṇas or attached to them, while others are handed down as independent texts.

Every text belonging to one of these three classes of literature is called 'Vedic' that is, belongs to the Vedas. And the whole 'Veda' or 'Vedic literature' presents itself as a long line of religious works—collections of hymns and songs, prayer books, treatises on sacrifices and theosophical tracts—which represent a unity only in so far as they form the basis of the Brahmanical religious system. They are all considered as '*Sacred* books' which are not human work, but divine creation or revelation. But what is called 'Scripture' in other religions is termed '*Śruti*' or "Hearing" in Brahmanism, because the sacred texts were not written and read, but only recited and *heard.* This also is of chronological significance. It is clear, that a *written* literature can develop in a shorter time than one that is only handed down by word of mouth, when each single text requires generations of teachers and disciples in order to be preserved at all.

Now there cannot be the least doubt, that of all the works that belonged to the Veda, *the Hymns of the Ṛgveda* are the oldest, this is proved beyond doubt by the *language* of the hymns which represents a much older form of Indian speech than the language of the Brāhmaṇas. It is proved also by their versification. On the one hand, *Vedic metrics* seems to be separated from that of classical Sanskrit poetry almost by a gulf, as we find in the Vedic hymns metres of which there is no trace in later Sanskrit poetry, while on the other hand, numerous metres of classical Sanskrit poetry have nothing corresponding in the Ṛgveda. And some Vedic metres which are found in later poetry also appear there with a rhythm that is far more strictly fixed than in the Ṛgveda.

Again another proof of antiquity of the Vedic hymns is their *accentuation.* The Vedic accent is, like that of ancient Greek, of a musical nature, depending on the pitch of the voice; while in classical Sanskrit we only have a stress accent, depending on quantity. Only in the Veda the accent is marked, not in Sanskrit. Hence only the Vedic accent is of importance for Comparative Philology, while in the later language the accent has been shifted so that it can no longer be used for comparison with other Indo-European languages.

Again the *geographical, political, social and economic conditions,* as reflected in the hymns of Ṛgveda, point to a far higher antiquity than those described in the Brāhmaṇas and even in the Saṃhitās of the Yayurveda.

But the language which proves the high antiquity of the hymns, also proves that the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā is not a uniform work, *of one time,* but consists of earlier and later strata of hymns. Other facts, too, show that the period in which these hymns were composed, must have extended over many centuries. The Ṛshis who not only in the Anukramaṇis, but already in the Brāhmaṇas are erroneouslyn described as the 'seers' or authors of the hymns, are in these hymns themselves often referred to as sages of olden times. The authors of the hymns often speak of '*old* songs' or of 'songs composed in the *old* way,' thus indicating that this kind of poetry had been cultivated from times immemorial. And when we look at the great variety of the contents of the Ṛgveda —for we find in it not only hymns in praise of the gods, invocations and sacrificial songs, but also ballads and fragments of worldly poetry, philosophical hymns and magic songs,—we cannot help gaining the conviction that we have to see in this collection the *remnants of the oldest Indian poetry in general,* that it contains only a small portion of a much more extensive (religious and secular) poetic literature, most of which seems to be irretrievably lost. As the bulk of the hymns are sacrificial chants, there can be no doubt that these form the nucleus of the whole collection, which was intended as a book of sacrificial songs and prayers. But the compilers, whether from some literary interest or from carelessness or ignorance, did not hesitate to include in it also profane poetry which, by language and metre, proved itself to be equally ancient and venerable as those sacrificial songs. But the greater part of this poetry was thought to be too profane to be included in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā.

And again when we look at the monumental work of M. Bloomfield, the 'Vedic Concordance' which is an index of every verse and line of the Veda, and at the same scholar's 'Ṛgveda Repetitions' (both published in the Harvard Oriental Series) in which no less than 5,000 of the 70,000 lines of the Ṛgveda are proved to be repetitions, we must conclude that at the time when the bulk of the hymns were composed there existed already a great number of verses which were considered as everybody's property that could be freely used by every poet as he liked. All this shows that the hymns collected in the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā represent only the *last outcome,* the *final completion* of a literary activity that had been going on for a very long time. *Centuries must have passed between the composition of the earliest hymns and the completion of the Saṃhitā of the Ṛgveda.*

And yet it cannot be too strongly emphasised, that *even the latest parts* of the Ṛgveda are older than all the rest of

Indian literature. This is proved by the fact that the Ṛgveda presupposes nothing of what we find in later Vedic and general Indian literature, while the whole of the later literature *presupposes* the Ṛgveda.

All the other Saṃhitās, though the Atharvaveda and the Yajurveda Saṃhitās contain much that is as old as the hymns of the Ṛgveda, are yet as Saṃhitās later than that of the Ṛgveda. The Brāhmaṇas, Āranyakas and Upanishads, again, presuppose not only the hymns of the Ṛgveda, but also the prayers and formulas of the other Saṃhitās which are all considered as extremely old and sacred texts. In many cases these old hymns and prayers were no longer understood. Old myths and legends had fallen into oblivion and were told by the ritualists in their own way. One example for this is the legend of *Pūrūravas and Urvaśī* which is told in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. There the Ṛgvedic ballad containing the dialogue between Pūruravas and Urvaśī is quoted. Yet the story of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa is so far removed in time from the Ṛgveda, that it is not sufficient to elucidate the enigmatic verses of the Ṛgvedic ballad.

Another even more striking example of the distance between the hymns of the Ṛgveda and the Brāhmaṇas is the legend of *Śunaḥśepa* in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa. This is one of the gems of ancient Indian narrative literature, told in simple prose, mixed with verses. (This mixture of prose and verse had always been a favourite form of Indian literature.) Here the verses are of two kinds; Ṛgveda verses, some hymns of the Ṛgveda being included in the tale, and *Gāthas*, verses which both in language and in metre are entirely different from the Vedic verses and approach the epic. The legend itself is an important document for the history of Indian civilisation as it proves the occurrence of human sacrifices in very ancient times. It is also remarkable from a historical point of view. The story ends with the following sentences :

"This is the Ākhyāna of Śunaḥśepa which contains over a hundred Ṛg-verses and besides Gāthas. This legend is told by the Hotṛ priest to the king, after he has been sprinkled with holy water at the Rājasūya. Seated on a golden cushion he tells the story. Seated on a golden cushion the Adhvaryu priest gives the responses. Gold indeed signifies glory. Thereby he causes his glory to increase. '*Om*' is the response to a Ṛg-verse, *tathā* ('yes') that to a *Gātha*, '*Om*' being divine, *tathā* human.[1] In this way he releases him from calamity and sin both by divine and by human word. Therefore a king who wishes to be victorious, though he be no sacrificer, may have the legend of Śunaḥśepa related to him; then not the least particle of sin will attach to him. He shall present a thousand cows to the narrator of the story, hundred cows to the priest who gives the responses, and besides to each of the two priests the golden cushion on which he has been sitting; moreover a silver chariot harnessed with mules should be given to the Hotṛ priest. Those, too, who are longing to have a son, shall have the legend recited to them, then they will certainly obtain a son."

This shows that the tale of Śunaḥśepa was a legend of time-honoured age already at the time when the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa was compiled. Otherwise the recitation of the story could not have formed part of the ritual at the Rājasūya. The legend itself must be still older. It must be very old, as it refers to human sacrifices which in primeval times must have formed part of the Rājasūya, though neither in our Brāhmaṇa nor in the Śrautasūtras human sacrifices are ever mentioned in the ritual for the consecration of a king. And yet compared with Ṛgveda the legend of the Śunaḥśepa is modern. For the hymns which according to the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa were seen by Śunaḥśepa have nothing to do with the legend, and several of the verses in which Śunaḥśepa is mentioned, cannot possibly have Śunaḥśepa as their author. This shows again, how far removed in time the hymns of the Ṛgveda are even from Brāhmaṇa legends of very respectable antiquity. Centuries must have passed between the completion of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā and the compilation of the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upanishads. Again, the Brāhmaṇas themselves with their numerous schools and branches of schools, with their endless genealogical lists of teachers, their numerous references to elder teachers require some centuries for their origin and growth. The Upanishads, too, belong to different periods. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Taittirīya, Aitareya, Kaushītaki and Kena Upanishads which in style and language are not different from the Brāhmaṇas, form the oldest stratum of the Upanishad literature. A second stratum is formed by the Kāṭhaka, the Īśa, the Śvetāśvatara, the Muṇḍaka and the Mahā Nārāyaṇa-Upanishads, which by their metrical form differ from the Brāhmaṇas and contain nothing like the sacrificial mysticism of the Āraṇyakas. A third class of Upanishads, the Praśna, Māṇḍūkya and Maitrāyaṇīya Upanishads are again composed in prose but prove themselves by language, style and teaching as belonging to a still later period.

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[1] This clearly indicates that the Ṛig verses were considered as sacred while the Gāthas belonged to profane literature, when the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa was composed.

All these Upanishads again presuppose generations of teachers and a long tradition.

And yet during the whole time from the first beginnings to the last off-shoots of Vedic literature the Indo-Aryan people have only conquered the comparatively small area from the Indus to the Ganges. If it took such a long time for Aryan civilisation to spread only from the extreme North-West to the Eastern Ganges District, how many centuries must have been required not only for Vedic literature but at the same time also for Brahmanical culture, theology and even priestly supremacy to pervade the whole of Central and Southern India.

But inscriptions prove that in the 3rd century B.C. Southern India was already overrun by Aryan Indians, and Brahmanical civilisation prevailed in the south to such an extent that Vedic schools like those of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba arose there. It is not probable that immediately after the conquest the whole land should have been colonised and Brahmanised to such a degree, that Vedic schools could arise in the distant South. The conquest of Southern India by the Aryans must have taken several centuries before it became so complete, that important Vedic schools could arise there. We have to remember that the Deccan was not inhabited by primitive wild tribes, but by peoples who had a civilisation which very likely was in no way inferior to that of the Aryan invaders. In the times of the Ṛgveda the Aryans were still living within the comparatively small area of the extreme North-West of India and Eastern Afghanistan. From some of the hymns of the Ṛgveda we know that the Aryans already in those early times were divided into many tribes, and that some of these tribes lived in continuous warfare. Under these circumstances it is only natural that the Aryan conquest of the whole of India could proceed but very slowly and step by step.

Now the landmark which Max Müller once set up for the end of the Vedic period, the rise of Buddhism in the 5th century B. C. still exists. Buddha's teaching presupposes the existence of the whole Veda, including at least the six oldest Upanishads, probably also the second stratum of Upanishad literature. Only of the Maitrāyaṇīya-Upanishad it is certain that it is later than Buddha. But even before the rise of Buddhism there have been ascetic sects in India which rejected the authority of the Veda. One of these sects is that of the

Jains. And it is now believed that Mahāvīra, the contemporary of Buddha, was not the founder, but only a reformer of the Jain sect, founded by Pārśva as early as 750 B.C.

Older than the grammarian Pāṇini is Yāska, the first commentator of the Ṛgveda known to us. In very early times already Indian scholars busied themselves with the explanations of difficult words in the Vedic hymns. Collections of words and meanings were compiled, the Nighaṇṭus or "glossaries." These form the basis for Yāska's Nirukta. Yāska, however, already quotes no less than seventeen predecessors whose opinions frequently contradict each other. Nay, one of the teachers quoted by Yāska went so far as to say that the whole Veda interpretation is worth nothing as the hymns are obscure, senseless, full of contradictions,—to which Yāska aptly replies that it is not the fault of the beam if the blind man does not see it. Yāska with his predecessors will not be very far from the time, when the sect of Pārsva and other Veda-rejecting ascetic sects arose.

If we ascribe the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda to about 1200 B.C., as the scholars mentioned do, there remain only seven centuries for the development of the Vedic literature and for all the great political, social and economic changes which we have pointed out. It seems to me that both the political and the religious and literary history of India require at least twice as much time, to be rightly understood which means that the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda must be nearer to 2000 B.C., than to 1200 B.C.

The question of the age of the Veda has of late again been discussed in connection with certain discoveries which have been made in 1907, by Hugo Winckler in Boghazköi in Asia Minor. Amongst the clay tablets found at Boghazköi there were also some documents concerning contracts concluded between the king of the *Hittites* (14th century B.C.) and the king of Mitani and as protectors of these contracts a number of Babylonian and native deities are invoked, and besides the gods of Mitani we also find the names :-

(ilāni) mi-it-ra aś-śi-il (ilâni) u-ru-w-na-aś-śi-el (ilu) in-dar (ilâni) na-sa-a (t-ti-ia-a) n-na. These words have been read by Winckler and other scholars as referring to Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatyau. The historian Ed. Meyer saw in these names the names of Aryan gods, that is, he ascribed them to the period when Indians and Iranians formed as yet only one people. Oldenberg and Keith looked upon these names as those of an old Iranian people, closely related to the Vedic Indians. But as a matter of fact, the names Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatyau are only known as Vedic gods and we have no right to speak of them as 'Aryan' or 'Iranian.' If the names have been correctly read, we shall have to assume that Aryan Indians, perhaps only a band of warriors, had about 1400 B.C. by some chance come so far West as Mitani. But I do not think that this discovery proves much for the age of the Veda. For even if it can be proved that some of the gods whom we know from the Veda were invoked in Mitani about 1400, we can legitimately conclude that it is likely enough that at this time there were also hymns to these gods sung in the North-West of India, but it is impossible to say for how long a time such hymn poetry had been already known in that part of India. Thus I do not believe that the discovery of Boghazköi, provided that the readings of the tablets are correct, proves anything more than that Vedic culture is at least as old as the 15th century B.C.

The only serious objection against dating the earliest Vedic hymns so far back as 2000 or 2500 B.C. is the close relationship between the language of the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions and the Awesta. The date of the Awesta is itself not quite certain. But the inscriptions of the Persian kings are dated, and are not older than the 6th century B.C. Now the two languages, Old Persian and Old High Indian, are so closely related, that it is not difficult to translate the old Persian inscriptions right into the language of the Veda.

But this can only be a warning against going too far back in our date. The two languages cannot well be separated by many thousands of years. On the other hand, languages differ very much as to how long old forms of speech may be kept up, and there is a great difference between the languages of one family as to the time they want for differentiation. Lithuanian is one of those Indo-European languages which are nearest related to the ancient Indo-Iranian. But yet it is not an old language and its literature is of quite recent growth. And we do not know for how long a time the Vedic people of North-West India and the Iranian people may have lived in close neighbourhood even after their separation.

But one thing is quite certain. It is absolutely impossible to use geological evidence as Abinas Chandra Das does in his book 'Ṛig-Vedic India' (published by the University of Calcutta, 1921), in order to prove an age of the Ṛgveda which is not to be measured by thousands but by ten thousands, nay hundred thousands or even millions of years. He would have us believe that the Ṛgveda is "as old as the Miocene or the Pliocene epoch whose age is to be computed by some hundreds of thousands, if not, millions of years." Now, why is this impossible? First of all it is extremely doubtful whether man existed at all in the Miocene or Pliocene epoch. Most anthropologists and archæologists agree that the earliest existence of man on earth cannot be traced further than to the Quarternary or Glacial epoch. But apart from this it is absolutely impossible, that the language of the Ṛgveda should be so little different as it is from the Old Persian in the 6th century B.C. and from the Sanskrit of Pāṇini and Patanjali, if it had been the language of a people that lived even only in the quarternary, to say nothing of the Miocene or Pliocene epochs. For languages, as a rule, change very rapidly; there are languages (and these are exceptions) that have changed comparatively little in the course of a thousand years, but never have languages been known to have remained almost unchanged for thousands or ten thousands of years. Merely from a linguistic point of view the theory of Abinas Chandra Das must be rejected. It must also be rejected from a historical point of view. Though I have insisted very often on the remoteness in age of the Ṛgvedic hymns from the rest of Indian literature yet this is only a relative remoteness. And comparatively old as the hymns of the Ṛgveda may be, yet even the earliest hymns show us Indian life, Indian thought, Indian manners and customs as not so different from those of the epics or of the classical Sanskrit literature that we could separate them from the later Indian literature even only by thousands to say nothing of ten thousands or hundred thousands of years.

To sum up the results of our investigations I should say:

1. Buddhism and Jainism presuppose the whole of the Veda. If, as it is probable, the origin of the Jaina religion goes back to Pārśva, the predecessor of Mahāvīra, the Veda must have been completed and considered as the sacred texts of Brahmanism as early as the 8th century B.C.

2. The hymns of the Ṛgveda are older than all the rest of Indian literature.

3. The origin and growth of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā requires a long time, several centuries.

4. The Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā is considerably older than the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā and the Yajurveda-Saṃhitās.

5. All the Saṃhitās are older than the Brāhmaṇas.

6. Both the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads need a long time for their development.

7. The close relationship between the language of the Vedic Saṃhitās on the one hand and Awesta and Old Persian on the other, does not allow us to date the beginning of the Vedic period back into a hoary age of many thousands to say nothing of millions of years B.C.

8. On the other hand, the facts of political, religious and literary history require a period of at least a thousand years and probably more between the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda and the latest parts of the old Upanishads and the rise of Buddhism.

9. It is not possible to give any definite date for the beginning of Vedic poetry. We do not know more for certain than that Vedic literature began at some unknown time in the past and extended up to the 8th century.

10. But it is more probable that this unknown time of the beginning of the Vedic literature was nearer 2500 or 2000 B.C. than to 1500 or 1200 B.C.

Personally I should prefer to mention no figures at all. We simply do not know anything more than what I said. This may be very disappointing to those of you who expected a definite answer to the question regarding the age of the oldest monument of Indian literature. But it is a greater service to Science to confess our ignorance than to deceive ourselves and others by producing dates, which are no dates. And after all, it is some comfort to know that we can set up at least some limits not only of our knowledge but also of our ignorance.

We are not allowed to let our imagination wander back into an unlimited past—from this we are prevented by historical and linguistic facts—and Buddha, Yāska and Pāṇini warn us to bring even the latest productions of Vedic literature down to a too modern time.[1]

M. WINTERNITZ

THE PROUD MOULVI

(*From Persian.*)

O Moulvi, thou inflated bag of pride !
From looks thy state of health we can't decide ;
To our salute some answering gesture make,
That we may feel assured thou hast not died.

POST-GRADUATE

TO A LADY WITH SHORT RINGLETS

(*From Persian.*)

Lady, why grieve ? Nature is ever right ;
Thy face is like the smiling spring, as bright,
Thy ringlets dark are short, as is but meet :
In spring, as all know well, short is the night.

POST-GRADUATE

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[1] Readership Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University in August, 1923.

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL CATTLE IN INDIA

It has been rightly said that agriculture is the main industry in India. Whatever may be said of the principal sources of income of other civilised countries of the world India's income is almost entirely derived from agriculture. About three-fourths of the population in India are engaged in agricultural pursuits. The following table collected from the Census Report (1911) shows at a glance how the agricultural population is distributed throughout the country.

Agricultural Populations in India.

British India.		Indian States.	
Assam ...	85 per cent.	Baroda ...	63. 3 per cent.
Baluchistan	67·5 ,,	Central India	60·7 ,,
Bengal ...	75·4 ,,	Cochin ...	50·4 ,,
Bihar & Orissa	78·3 ,,	Hyderabad	57 ,,
Bombay ...	64·3 ,,	Kashmir ..	78·5 ,,
Burma ...	70 ,,	Mysore ...	72·4 ,,
Central Provinces	76 ,,	Rajputana	62·5 ,,
Coorg ...	81·6 ,,	Sikkim ...	94·4 ,,
Madras ...	68·7 ,,	Travancore	53 ,,
Punjab ...	58 ,,		
United Provinces	72 ,,		
Total—British India (average)	72 per cent.		

Agriculture being thus our primary occupation, it would be worth while to examine the condition and prospects of this industry upon which the life and prosperity of the millions of India are so largely dependent.

The agriculture of a country depends largely, if not entirely, upon its soil and climate. Rice, wheat, the millets, the pulses, cotton, sugarcane and oil-seeds form the principal crops of the country, and taken as a whole, the conditions of the soil and. the climate throughout the land may be said to be rather favourable for their cultivation.

The climate of India, though varying in degree, is otherwise remarkably similar in character throughout the country. The monsoon, the dry winter and early summer months, and the intense heat from March to September are the common features, which have led to the division of the year into two agricultural seasons—the *Kharif* or monsoon, and the *Rabi* or winter, each bearing its own distinctive crops.

As regards soil, India is divided into two broad portions. *viz.*,—(1) the Indo-Gangetic plains extending from the Punjab to Assam and (2) that of Central and Southern India. The former comprise large level stretches of alluvium of great depth, the top-soil varying in texture from sandy to light loam, porous and clayey, while the latter consist of hills and valleys some portions of which are too hot and dry for cultivation with other portions intractable and sticky in the rains, hard and crumby in the dry weather and holding its moisture at lower levels.

In spite, however, of this comparative advantages of soil and climate, the rate of outturn of crops is exceptionally poor in this country—in fact it is the poorest of all countries of the world. The following comparative tables of the outturn of wheat and paddy, worked out from the latest authoritative reports of the various countries concerned, unmistakably indicate how in spite of our best efforts the rate of outturn of crops per acre is so low that it hardly makes the agriculture of India self-supporting—not to say lucrative. Countries such as Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Great Britain, Japan and even Egypt raise 2 to 3 times more crops from their fields than what India does.

RICE PRODUCE IN INDIA AND JAPAN.

Name of Country.	Area under rice cultivation in Acres.	Yield in Cwt.	Rate of yield in Cwt. per acre.
British India (1915-16)	78,730,642	544,840,000	7
Do (1919-20)	78,706,103,	639,400,000	8
Japan (1915-16)	9,168,000 (3,056,000 cho)	111,828,000 (55,914,000 koku)	12·4

WORLD'S WHEAT PRODUCE IN 1917.[1]

Name of Country.	Area in acres under wheat cultivation.	Wheat produce in bushels.	Rate of outturn in bushels per acre.
British India	33,067,000	381,268,250	11·5
Denmark	131,000	4,287,468	33
Spain	10,336,000	142,376,740	14
France	10,393,000	134,293,756	13·5
Great Britain	2,103,000	59,623,650	29·8
Italy	10,433,000	137,324,000	13·7
Norway	19,000	429,484	23
Netherlands	122,000	3,699,718	30
Sweden	329,000	6,849,663	23
Switzerland	139,000	4,545,666	32·5
Canada	14,795,000	233,256,994	17
United States	45,922,000	635,314,091	14
Japan	1,457,000	32,658,622	32
Egypt	1,116,000	29,772,285	29

Shallow and superficial observers may ascribe this deficiency in the outturn of crops to the ignorance or laziness of the

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[1] The figures are taken from the latest issue of the New Hazel Annual and Almanac. Later figures are not available in India.

Indian cultivator, but the better and wiser class of critics ascribe it to causes which lie deeper beneath.

India is a land of small holdings varying in size from 1 to 8 acres, and the farmers are proverbially poor, nay plunged in heavy debts. Large holdings are almost unknown, and even where they exist, they are owned by the European planters. Farming, unlike in other agricultural countries of the world, is carried on with little capital—there being practically no outlay in fencing, building or purchasing farm implements. The ryot cannot lay by anything, not to speak of accumulating wealth, and the slightest decrease in rainfall or outbreak of an epidemic, helps the development of a wide famine or scarcity. With little staying-power and still less resources the condition of the Indian peasant is extremely pitiable indeed.

It is admitted by all experts, who can speak with authority on the point, that the Indian agriculturist, as a rule, possesses an intimate knowledge of the essentials of his own business, and fails only through lack of ways and means. Let us consider a little minutely what these drawbacks are.

From time immemorial the cultivation in this country has been carried on with cattle-power. The tilling, the harrowing, the levelling, drawing water for irrigation, and carrying the crops when reaped, all these processes are carried on with the help of cattle. In a country where the holdings are small and scattered, and there is little organisation, the introduction of steam or electric power and heavy appliances are altogether unsuitable. The implements of cultivation of the ordinary ryot are the plough and the levelling beam, and occasionally an additional harrow and the roller. Hand implements such as the *kodal* (spade) and the *khurpi* (small hand hoe) are also used, generally in horticulture and for the production of kitchen vegetables.

The Indian cattle, as a rule, are light and active, but usually they possess little hauling power. This defect is sought to be made up by frequent and repeated ploughings, and it is said that the result is that the soil is seldom tilled to a sufficient depth as it should be. Besides tilling the ground, the cattle also play another very important part in the cultivation of the country. They produce practically the only source of manure, which the indigenous agriculturist employs for fertilising his fields.

The cattle-dung and refuse from cattle-sheds, are at present the principal sources of manure. The urine of cattle is not usually utilised on account of its strength. The writer has made experiments, from which it would appear that the urine of cattle, diluted with six times its volume of water, makes an excellent and useful manure. It not only stimulates the growth of plants, but acts very rapidly upon vegetable life. If thoughtful experiments are carried on with urine manure along with dung and other kind of manures derived from animals, minerals or vegetables and the results carefully noted with the help of the newly-invented Magnetic Crescograph of Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, it is likely to open up a new source of plant stimulation, and disclose a new field before the Indian cultivator. It will be thus seen what an important part the cattle play in our agricultural system.

Again, due to the vagaries of the monsoon and the usually insufficient rainfall, artificial methods of irrigation are necessary over the greater part of the country. Canal irrigation has been introduced in the various parts of the Punjab, Sindh, United Province and Madras. It has, no doubt, produced much good by converting large arid tracts into fertile areas, but it has brought considerable evil also in its train. The excessive dampness caused by these canals in areas of comparative drought have introduced malaria, influenza and dysentery in those tracts, which are carrying away inhabitants in large numbers to an untimely grave. Other sources of irrigation are the tank, the lake and the well.

Tank irrigation is common in Central and Southern India, and in the rest of the country well is the only source of water.

It has been estimated by the government that about one-fourth of the total irrigation of the country is carried on by lifting water from the wells. These wells vary in depth from a few feet to over 50 feet, and their number is rapidly increasing. In raising water from the wells cattle-power is universally employed. Here also cattle form a prominent link in the chain of agricultural processes.

A well-known European writer has truly remarked that cattle in India form the life and soul of agriculture. Quite so, but the condition of cattle in this country, either agricultural or otherwise, is anything but satisfactory. Not only are they numerically fewer than the requirements, but they have greatly deteriorated in quality. And this inadequacy of cattle is responsible mainly, if not entirely, for the miserable state of our agriculture.

The bullock is the principal agricultural cattle of India, the buffalo being very sparingly used for its comparative impatience and ineptitude for work in the excessive heat of the sun. The agricultural classes, therefore, prefer the bullock and pay a high price for it. In the Punjab, the United Provinces and the Bombay Presidency the cow is valued more as the potential mother of bullock rather than as a good milker.

Unfortunately with the progress of time and the extension of cultivated areas the number of bulls and bullocks is steadily decreasing, their quality is deteriorating and their price is increasing by leaps and bounds. One will be easily able to judge for himself from the following statement how the area brought under cultivation is slowly increasing, but the number of cattle, and, in consequence the output of crops is slowly diminishing.

AGRICULTURAL AREA AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE IN INDIA

——	1909-10.	1912-13.	1915-16.	1919-20.
Net cropped area (in acres)	222,911,547	224,165,602	221,778,167	222,865,062
Area under—				
Rice (in acres)	78,730,642	78,752,493	78,679,425	78,706,103
Wheat („ „)	22,769,918	23,861,185	23,871,366	23,529,800
Jawar („ „)	21,801,934	20,967,730	23,050,921	22,484,034
Sugar („ „)	2,442,033	2,712,085	2,550,608	2,813,428
Cotton („ „)	13,172,188	14,138,497	11,435,135	15,318,089
Oil-seeds („ „)	14,625,057	14,935,780	14,235,589	12,571,304
Total yield of—				
Rice in cwt.	557,136,000	569,700,000	656,480,000	639,400,000
Wheat in tons	9,633,600	9,853,000	8,652,000	10,130,000
Cotton in 400 lb. bales ...	4,718,000	4,610,000	3,738,000	5,796,000
Cane Sugar in tons	2,127,100	2,583,600	2,634,000	3,036,000

From the above it will be seen that there has been a steady tendency of bringing more and more land under cultivation, specially in the areas under rice, wheat, jawar and sugar, although the corresponding increase in the out-turn of crops has been rather far too inadequate. Comparing this with the numerical strength of our cattle, we find that it is either falling off or is stagnant.

LIVESTOCK IN BRITISH INDIA

Year.	Bulls and bullocks.	TOTAL.
1906-07	52,078,000	......
1912-13	47,002,902	......
1914-15	......	147,335,852
1919-20	......	146,166,000
1920-21	......	145,103,000

Now let us apply ourselves a little more closely to the above figures. Concentrating our attention on the year 1912-13 we find the entire area brought under cultivation that year was about 224 million acres. This we can safely take as the normal. Let us consider next how many cattle will be necessary to properly till this area. It has been ascertained on careful enquiry from agricultural experts that a pair of Indian plough-cattle can till only 5 acres of land during a season. A writer in the *Indian Humanitarian* (December, 1919) has estimated that a pair of Indian bullocks can till on average about 2 acres of land. This estimate seems to be a little too low. The fairest estimate would appear to be what has been already indicated, *viz.*, 5 acres for a pair of cattle. That being so it would surely require about 45 million pairs of cattle, *i.e.*, about 90 million heads of cattle to till 224 million acres of cultivated land. But, as we have noticed before, there are only 47 millions of cattle in the whole of India all told. We have to make an allowance from this figure to the extent of 25 per cent. as being too old or too young and another 25 per cent. as being ill or employed in draught and similar other purposes. There will thus remain only 24 million of cattle to cultivate an area of 224 million acres, which require nearly four times that number for the purpose.

The following table places the whole matter of milch and agricultural cattle in a nutshell. It is given here for what it is worth.

RATIO OF PLOUGH-CATTLE TO CULTIVATED AREA AND MILCH-CATTLE TO POPULATION.

(*From Agricultural Statistics of India, Vols. I. & II—1914-15 & 1919-20.*)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Place and year.	Cultivated area in 100 acres.	Plough-cattle in 1000	Quantity (in acres) of cultivated area per plough-cattle.	Population in 1000.	No of milch-cattle in 1000.	Average yield of milk per day in 1000 pints (*at 2* pints per cattle for 7 months.)	Quantity of milk in pints available per man per day.
British India 1914-15	227,611	48,645	5	244,267	50,946	59,437	$\frac{1}{4}$
Do. 1919-20	222,865	49,222	5	271,703	50,539	57,759	$\frac{1}{5}$
Indian States (so far as obtainable) 1914-15.	31,935	4,002	8	70,865	5,838	6,811	$\frac{1}{10}$
Do. 1919-20	59,756	9,865	6	47,289	12,330	14,091	$\frac{1}{3}$
Average ...	...	...	5	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{5}$

Having thus established the hopeless inadequacy of the numerical strength of our agricultural cattle for the purpose of cultivation, let us now pass on to consider critically their quality. In considering the *number* of our cattle in previous periods we were handicapped for want of reliable figures, and in consequence we had to confine ourselves to the period 1906-7 and 1919-20. We are, however, more fortunately placed in the matter of judging the *quality* of our cattle and tracing their gradual deterioration from the very earliest times.

India has been famous from time immemorial for good breeds of cattle. Mention is made of the value and usefulness of cattle in the Vedas and the Upanishads, in the Smritis and the Puranas, in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Special stress is laid on the cattle-wealth of the country in the accounts of Megasthenes, Hiuen-Thsang, Bernier, Marco Polo and other foreign travellers, while much valuable information on the condition of cattle in ancient India is available from the historical treatises, such as Rajtarangini, Shah-nama, and the Ain-i-Akbari. Bernier speaks of cattle which during the Moghul period fought with elephants and tigers. Marco Polo who visited India in the 13th century A. D., says that Indian oxen looked like elephants. The Ain-i-Akbari describes bullocks which would run faster than horses, and milch-cows which ordinarily gave 20 quarts of milk per day. Coming to later times, before the advent of the Railway system in India, bullocks used to carry persons and loads through long distances and they used to carry the mail as well. The military department even now use large numbers of bullocks for carrying heavy loads and guns. The writer has had opportunities of observing a limited number of cattle in the Central Provinces and the Punjab which look like elephants and also bullocks which run faster than horses, but their number is so limited that the stock has practically died out.

In the statements that have been made above regarding the growing decline in the quality of cattle we do not in any way stand alone. Although a number of foreign critics, and fortunately their number is only a handful, are interested in saying that India has grown better in all respects including the condition of her cattle, and are resentful when the real facts are disclosed before the world, there are fortunately a fairly large number of unbiased and honest European and American critics who agree with us and blame the administration for negligently allowing things to come to such a pass. Under the latter class come the Hon'ble Justice Sir John Woodroffe, Kt., M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-law, and this is what he has recently said in his memorial to H. E. the Viceroy, as President of the All-India Cow Conference Association, Calcutta :—

Says Sir John in paragraph 5 of the Memorial that "the quality of all kinds of cattle has very much deteriorated and is still deteriorating; Indian milch-cattle in Akbar's time (as described in the Ain-i-Akbari) used to give 20 quarts of milk a day and draught-cattle could walk faster than horses. Only twenty-five years ago, as older inhabitants of India can testify, country cows used to give about five seers of milk per head per day on an average, while they now give only one seer, bullocks also could do about *double* the work that they do now."

Another patient and painstaking observer, Sir Stanley Reed, Kt., LL.D., says almost the same thing.

> "The best known draught breeds are the Hansi, Nellore, Amritmehal, Gujrat and Malvi. Owing however to the encroachment of cultivation on the grazing areas well-bred cattle are becoming scarce, and some of the breeds are threatened with extinction."

Degeneracy and extinction have produced their usual effect. Not only are cattle getting harder to get every year, their prices are rising incredibly higher. To quote again the words of Sir John's memorial to H. E. the Viceroy,

> "This unsatisfactory state of things both as regards the number and quality of cattle has led to an abnormal rise in the price of cattle." "In Akbar's time cows giving 20 quarts of milk a day used to sell at Rs. 10; fifteen or twenty years ago such cows could be had for about Rs. 150, whereas they are hardly available now for Rs. 400 ; and similar has been the rise in the price of bulls and bullocks as well."

What we really want now is an increase in the number of our cattle and substantial improvement in their quality. With an increase in the supply the price of the animals is sure to come down. Let us, therefore, direct our attention once more to the causes which have helped to undermine the cattle-resources of our country.

It will be easily seen that the principal cause of reducing our cattle-strength is slaughter. Cattle are slaughtered mainly for three purposes, *viz.*, (*a*) to supply food to the

British soldier and to the lower classes of the European, Anglo-Indian and Mahomedan population; (*b*) for the preparation of dried meat (biltong); and (*c*) the ever-growing trade of hide-export. Statistics published by the Statistical Department of the Government of India go to show that the figures on all the three heads denoted above are on the increase. The following table shows very clearly how the income of municipalities from octroi on animals taken for slaughter as also from slaughter-house fees have increased by more than fifty per cent. in the course of the last 10 years.

INCOME OF MUNICIPALITIES FROM SLAUGHTER-HOUSES, ETC.

Income from—	1902-03.	1907-08.	1913-1.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Octroi on animals taken for slaughter ...	4,85,202	6,11,547	6,44,776
Fees, etc., from slaughter-houses ...	28,15,894	35,18,038	45,35,624

The export of dried meat to Burma has also been increasing and that on a still larger scale. An extract from the statement supplied by the Agent, East Indian Railway, to the All-India Cow Conference Association, Calcutta, on payment of Rs. 100, as given below, discloses how through one railway station alone an enormous quantity of dried meat find its way to Burma and how this export is rapidly on the increase.

DRIED MEAT RECEIVED AT HOWRAH

	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920 (January to June)
Maunds ...	1,66,849	1,58,204	1,74,160	1,95,347

The exports of hide have increased rather abnormally. And there can be no doubt that the hide trade has something to do with the increasing slaughter and deaths from poisoning and other allied causes. The following figures speak for themselves.

EXPORT OF HIDES AND SKINS OUT OF INDIA.

Year.	Value in Rs.	Number.
	Rs.	
1854-55 ...	68,09,954	......
1898-99 ...	7,45,06,323	41,086,844
1904-05 ...	9,90,59,720	48,931,496
1909-10 ...	13,61,99,072	57,088,725
1913-14 ...	15,94,80,000	......
1919-20 ...	23,40,00,000	......

It will be seen from the above that in the course of the last fifty years the value of the trade has increased more than twenty-fold. This is really alarming and something should be done at once to check the trade. To my mind refraining from using leather-goods and leather shoes, as far as possible, will diminish the demand for leather and check this abnormal destruction of our indispensable beasts of burden and agriculture.

The next serious cause tending to diminish the number of cattle is the prevalence of epidemics such as those of rinder-pest and the like. Modern veterinary doctors can hardly cope with the situation and it would seem to be prudent to revive the indigenous system of cattle-treatment by State and public patronage.

Another, and a no less potent cause, is the want of pasture-lands and non-cultivation of fodder-crops. In India the average ratio of fodder crops to total area is 1 : 27, while in the United States it is 1 : 16, in Germany and Japan it is 1 : 6 and in England and New Zealand it is 1 : 3. Again the average quantity of grazing land that is available per head of cattle is 13 acres in the United States as against 1·3 acres in Bombay and ·17 acre in Bengal. As regards fodder-crops the United States grow them on 3·5 per cent. of the total area, while in this country we grow them upon only 1 per cent. of the total area. Provision of more pasture-lands in every town and village and the cultivation of fodder-crops on a more extensive scale seem to be the crying want of the day.

Deterioration in breed has been caused by want of good bulls and the consequent reckless breeding of the cattle of the country. The best bulls are being slaughtered and exported and they are also being diverted for other purposes such as scavengering, etc. It would seem that the time has arrived when prompt legislative interference is necessary to amend the existing defects in the law relating to Brahmini bulls and for the introduction of necessary measures penalising the slaughter and export of agricultural cattle and breeding-bulls. It is further necessary that our nobility and gentry as well as the Government and the Local bodies should rouse from their stupor in the matter and energetically take to breeding on improved and up-to-date lines, as is being done by all the important countries of the globe.

Nothing can be more useful and conducive to our general weal as an earnest move in this direction and I cannot better conclude this contribution than by appealing to the rulers and the ruled alike on the absolute and imperative necessity of devoting greater attention to our cattle-stock with a view to their increase and improvement.

NILANANDA CHATTERJEE

A CHAPTER OF RIGVEDIC HISTORY[1]

(THE WAR OF TEN KINGS WITH SUDĀS, KING OF THE TṚTSUS.)

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Frequent wars and raids among Āryan Tribes.

The ancient Āryans having been divided into numerous tribes (of whom five only had developed a homogeneous civilisation and were known as Pañcajanāḥ), there were frequent quarrels and raids among themselves. Sometimes these quarrels were the results of personal or tribal jealousies; or, sometimes a powerful king of one tribe cherished the ambition of extending his dominion over the neighbouring states by waging a war of conquest, when the latter formed themselves into a confederacy to check his ambition and victorious progress. Thus, what with the murderous depredations of the Dasyus, *i.e.*, the savage Āryan tribes living by robbery, and what with the frequent raids and wars made by the neighbouring civilised Āryan states, the lot of the people was far from happy and peaceful. They always lived in a state of military preparedness, and were ready, at a moment's notice, to take the field and fight their enemies. There are many hymns and verses in the Rigveda, which relate to fightings, wars or conquests, and there was no Ṛgvedic Ṛṣi of importance, who did not compose prayers for the defeat or destruction of enemies. Indra was the principal God to whom was attributed the credit of achieving victories in almost all wars. It was he who broke down the forts of the enemies, conquered their territories, brought them under subjection, or destroyed them, root and branch. The whole country seemed to have been dotted with forts and strongholds, and each state had a string of forts on its borders. It was the main object of an invading army to demolish these forts first of all, before any attempt was made to penetrate into the country. Indra is credited, in one instance, with having destroyed ninety or ninety-nine forts of the enemy, and demolished seven fortified cities in another, and also with having performed other heroic deeds. A Ṛgvedic verse (i. 53, 9) mentions the fact of an attack having been made on King Suçravā by Twenty Kings who had united their forces numbering 60,099 strong with a view to defeat the powerful Prince ; but they themselves were defeated by Suçravā in the long run, through the active and merciful help of Indra. (Rv. i. 53, 10). The great commentator, Sāyana, does not give any account of Suçravā, or of the war that the Twenty Kings waged against him. Probably Suçravā had belonged to an earlier period of the Ṛgvedic Age, and already become a mythical hero (like Rāma or Yudhiṣthira at the present day) when the above verses were composed. Hence no detailed account of this terrible war is available beyond the fact that Twenty Kings had united their forces to defeat him but were unsuccessful.

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[1] From the writer's forthcoming work, *Rigvedic Culture.*

The war of Ten Kings with Sudās.

But the war of Ten Kings with Sudās has been mentioned in the Ṛgveda with some details, as it was undoubtedly a comparatively recent occurrence and remembered by many, even in the later period of Ṛgvedic times. The details, however, are scattered in fragments in several hymns and verses. We shall endeavour to knit them together into a succinct narrative in this chapter.

Some of the principal Āryan Tribes who took part in the war.

But before we do so, it will be necessary to give here a brief account of some of the principal Āryan tribes of that time. The Tṛtsus were one of the Five Tribes mentioned in the Rigveda. They appear to have lived on the banks of the Paruṣṇī, the modern Rāvi. The Bharatas lived on the banks of the Sarasvatī, the Dṛsadvatī, and the Āpayā in their upper courses, and the Yadus and the Turvaças lived probably lower down near the mouth of the Sarasvatī, close to the sea-shore. It has been related of them that they had once crossed the sea (probably the Rajputana sea, as it then was), and lived on its further shore, very likely in modern Gujrat, and their kings remained unanointed, whereupon Indra crossed the sea and brought them back again to the shores of Sapta-Sindhu (Ṛv. i. 54, 6; iv. 30, 19; vi. 20, 12), and rescued them from barbarism into which they had probably been relapsing, cut off as they had been from their own kith and kin. They resettled on the bank of the Sarasvatī in its lower course, where they performed many sacrifices. But, as they had been at first heterodox in faith, they have been described in a Rigvedic verse (x. 62. 10) as belonging to the *Dāsa* tribe, for any one who did not subscribe to the Rigvedic faith was put down as a *Dāsa*. The Anus and the Druhyus probably lived in the tract of country between the Sarasvatī and the Çatadru. The Purus lived on both the banks of the upper Indus on the borders of Gandhāra, and kept in check the depredations of the troublesome Dasyus, or mountainous Āryan tribes, in which work they were occasionally assisted by their neighbours, the Tṛtsus (Ṛv. i. 63. 7). The Purus also appear to have been settled on the bank of the Sarasvatī (Ṛv. vii. 96, 2). Whether this place had been the original settlement of the tribe, from which they afterwards migrated to the banks of the Sindhu, cannot be definitely said. Probably this tribe lived in both the regions. King Purukutsa was the son of Durgaha, and appears to have been made a prisoner of war, and to have died in captivity (Ṛv. iv. 42,8). His queen, after the performance of a sacrifice according to the direction of seven Ṛṣis who had probably taken charge of the kingdom during the interregnum, was blest with a son whose name was Trasadasyu (the Frightener of the Dasyus), and who subdued all the wild Āryan tribes and became their leader. (Ṛv., iv. 42, 8; viii. 19, 37) Trasadasyu was thus the posthumous son of Purukutsa, and in his days became so famous by his wars and victories that he looked upon himself, and was also looked upon by the people, as equal to Indra in prowess and glory. In fact, he was regarded as *Ardhadeva* or half-God. (Rv. iv. 42, 8). He was believed to be invincible in war, and under special divine protection (Rv. iv. 42, 6). The Purus appear to have been afterwards allied with the Kurus by marriage, and King Kuruçravaṇa was called *Trāsadasyava*, *i.e.*, a descendant of Trasadasyu (Rv., x. 33, 4). The latter's father, Purukutsa, who had at first been an ally of King Sudās, was afterwards prevailed upon to join the confederacy of Ten Kings against him, and in the war that followed was probably taken prisoner and died in captivity.

Of the several Āryan tribes living in Sapta-Sindhu at this time, the Purus, the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas appear to have greatly distinguished themselves. The most famous kings of the Tṛtsus were Divodāsa and his grandson, Sudās, son of Pijavana, and hence nicknamed *Paijavana*. It is surmised by some Western scholars [1] that the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas were one people, *i.e.*, belonged to one clan or tribe, in support of which they quote certain verses (Rv. vi. 16, 4. 5. 19). But Bharata, mentioned in the fourth verse, had no connection with Divodāsa, mentioned in the fifth and nineteenth verses. King Bharata worshipped Agni (Fire) on the bank of the Sarasvatī ; hence, one name of Agni is Bhāratī, a name which was, in a later age, transferred to the Goddess Sarasvatī, presiding over *Vāch* or speech. Similarly, another name or epithet of Agni, as worshipped by Divodāsa, was *Daivadāsa* (Rv. viii. 103, 2). In Rv. vi. 16, the Ṛṣi Bharadvāja has simply referred to the fact that King Bharata and King Divodāsa both became famous in Rigvedic times by having been "energetic supporters of the Fire ritual." The Tṛtsus and the Bharatas should not, therefore, be regarded as one tribe. They might have originally belonged to one clan, called the *Tṛtsus,* but in Rigvedic times the two branches appear to have been distinct, and there is evidence of the existence of tribal feuds which led Viçvāmitra to make a united and determined effort, by the formation of a strong coalition of Ten Kings, for curbing the growing and aggressive power of the Tṛtsu king, Sudās, grandson of Divodāsa.

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[1] Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, i. 363.

The great Divodāsa had been a warlike prince who had been engaged in a series of wars with the Yadus and the Turvaças (Rv. ix. 61, 2) whom he ultimately subdued; also with Çamvara, the great Asura chief, whose ninety-nine forts he demolished with the help of Indra (Rv. i. 130, 7; vi. 26, 5); and with the Paṇis, the Pārāvatas, and the Bṛṣayas who were nearly exterminated. (Rv. vi. 61, 1, *et, seq*). Hillebrandt has inferred that the last three tribes belonged to Arachosia, and the Sarasvatī river mentioned in the hymn was the *Haraquaiti,* flowing through that region. But the inference is wrong, as the battle really took place on the banks of the Sarasvati flowing through the Punjab. The Paṇis, as I have elsewhere said, [2] lived on the high banks of the Gangā, probably on the coast of the Eastern Sea, covering the Gangetic trough, and the Pārāvatas lived on the banks of the Yamunā, as mentioned in the Pañcaviṃca Brāhmaṇa (ix. 4, 11). It is, therefore, certain that the battle with the Paṇis and the Pārāvatas took place on the banks of the Sarasvatī in the Punjab and not in Arachosia, and that Divodāsa led his victorious army towards the east, as far as the coast of the Eastern Sea. But Divodāsa who had for his allies Āyu and Kutsa, king of the Purus (Rv. ii. 14, 7), once suffered a reverse in a battle with Tūrvayāna, to whom they had to submit (Rv. i. 53. 10). With this one exception, he was all along helped in his war-like expeditions by the mighty Indra. Tūrvayāna appears to have been the king of the Pakthas (Rv. x. 61, 1 *et seq.*) Divodāsa also became renowned for his hospitality and liberality which earned for him the title of *Atithigva*, or 'Entertainer of guests.' Sudās, his grandson (some say, son), shared the glory and fame of his illustrious ancestor, as a liberal and powerful prince.

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[2] *Rigvedic India* ch. vi & vii.

[3] Vedic Index, i. 519.

The main cause of the war.

It appears that the great Ṛṣi Viçvāmitra had been for sometime the *Purohita* (principal priest) of Sudās, king of the Tṛtsus. He had received many gifts from Sudās, for which he was praised. He had performed sacrifices for him, which won him the favour of Indra (Rv. iii. 53, 9). "Come forward, Kuçikas," says Viçvāmitra, addressing himself to his sons, "and be attentive; let loose Sudas's horse to win him riches; east, west and north, let the king slay his foemen, then at earth's choicest place perform his worship." (Rv. iii. 53, 11). The verse clearly indicates that Sudās was about to embark on an extensive conquest of the territories lying in the east, west and north of Sapta-Sindhu. The southern direction has not been mentioned, because immediately to the south of Sapta-Sindhu lay the dreary and uninhabited desert and the sea. Divodāsa had already brought under his subjection many territories, and Sudās was only treading in his footsteps with the object of bringing the whole of Sapta-Sindhu under one rule, and of establishing one mighty Āryan empire. Probably this was also the ambition of Viçvāmitra, as the division of the country into a number of small independent states really retarded the progress and advancement of the people as a whole. Sudās must have been eminently successful in his conquests, and Viçvāmitra's dream was about to be realised. But he had a very powerful rival in Sudās's court in the person of Vasiṣṭha with whom he had a difference. What was the nature of the difference, it is very difficult to ascertain from the Rigveda, and various scholars have variously speculated on the subject. "It seems that the Vasiṣṭhas were pioneers in adopting the rule that Purohitas should act as Brahman priests [4] at the sacrifice : the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xii. 6, 1, 41) states that the Vasiṣṭhas were once the only priests to act as Brahmans, but that later any priest could serve as such."[5] Vasiṣṭha, having been a Tṛtsu (Rv. vii. 83, 8), afterwards became the principal priest of the royal family, and acted as Brahman priest, a right which was probably denied to Viçvāmitra, and this led to a dispute which ended in Viçvāmitra's leaving Sudās's court with all the Kuçikas, and going over to the Bharatas to which clan he originally belonged. This incident was probably developed in the Epics and the Purāṇas as a quarrel over the fact that though Viçvāmitra was a *Ṛṣi* and *Rājarṣi*, he was not acknowledged as a *Brāhmaṇa* by Vasiṣṭha. However this may be, it is an undoubted fact in Rigvedic history that though Viçvāmitra had at first been the Purohita of the Tṛtsus, he was ousted from the position by Vasiṣṭha, or the Vasiṣṭhas, and, in his rage, left Sudās's court, and joined the court of the Bharatas who were probably Sudās's enemies. When about to depart from the sacrificial hall of Sudās, he thus invoked good luck for the several parts of the chariot or wain on which he was going to travel :—

"Strong be the pair of oxen, firm the axles, let not the pole slip, nor the yoke be broken. May Indra keep the yoke-pins from decaying : attend us, thou whose fellies are uninjured. O Indra, give our bodies strength, strength to the bulls who draw the wains, strength to our seed and progeny that they may live, for thou art he who giveth strength. Enclose thee in the heart of *Khayer* (*Khadira*) timber : in the car wrought of Çinçapā put firmness. Show thyself strong, O Axle, fixed and strengthened ; throw us not from the car whereon we travel, Let not this sovran of the wood leave us forlorn or injure us. Safe may we be until we reach our homes and rest us and unyoke. With various aids, do come to us, Indra ; with best aid speed us, Maghavan, thou Hero. Let him who hateth us fall headlong downward ; him whom we hate let vital breath abandon. He heats his very axe, and then cuts a mere Semul blossom off. O Indra, like a caldron cracked and seething, so he pours out foam" (Ṛv. iii. 53, 17-22). On the meaning of the last verse, Professor Wilson remarks : "The construction is elliptical : the ellipsis is supplied by the scholiast : as the tree is cut down by the axe, so may the enemy be cut down : as one cuts off without difficulty the flower of the Çimbala, so may he be destroyed : as the caldron when struck, and thence leaking, scatters foam or breath from its mouth, so may that hater, struck by the power of my prayer, vomit foam from his mouth." Griffith says that "the phrases are probably, as Ludwig explains, merely proverbial expressions for threat, full of sound and fury followed by insignificant results." The last verse of the above hymn (Ṛv. iii. 53, 24) has been thus paraphrased by Prof. Wilson, following Sāyaṇa : "These sons of Bharata, Indra, understand severance (from the Vasiṣṭhas), not association (with them) ; they urge their steeds (against them), as against a constant foe ; they bear a stout bow (for their destruction) in battle." This shows the deep hatred that the Viçvāmitras bore against the Vasiṣṭhas which resulted in the formation of a confederacy of Ten Kings against Sudās, of which Vivçāmitra became the guiding and moving spirit. But this was not the only cause of the war ; there were other causes at work, of which Viçvāmitra took advantage with a view to gain his main object, *viz.*, the crushing of Vasiṣṭha, and the overthrow of the King whom he served.

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[4] Vasiṣṭha was Brahman at the sacrifice of Çunashepa, *Ait-Arāh.* vii. 16 *Cānkhāyana Crauta Sūtra*, XV. 21, 4.

[5] *Vedic Index*, ii. 276

Other causes.

The extensive conquests of Sudās, his uniform good luck and success, and his suzerainty over the subject states had excited the jealousy of his rivals, and created a deep discontent in the minds of those whom he had subdued. They all had been eager to accomplish his complete overthrow; but there was none to take the initiative in the matter and concert adequate measures. At this psychological moment, Viçvāmitra, who had left Sudās's court in high dudgeon, egged them on to avenge themselves upon Sudās by forming a strong confederacy, and advancing against his kingdom with their united forces. His suggestions were eagerly accepted and acted upon. A confederacy of Ten Kings was immediately formed, and adequate preparations made for advance. As Viçvāmitra had been till recently the principal Purohita and trusted adviser of Sudās, the guidance of the confederacy naturally devolved upon him. It is very difficult to ascertain the names of the Ten kings who formed the confederacy, but there is evidence of the following tribes having joined it,[*] *viz.*, the Anus, the Druhyus, the Bharatas, the Yadus, the Turvaças, the Purus, the Çimyus, the Ajas, the Çigrus and the Yakṣus. (Rv. vii. 18.) Bheda, the king of a tribe on the Yamunā, also took a leading part in the war. The Ajas, the Çigrus and the Yakṣus were probably non-sacrificing Āryan tribes living in the north of Sapta-Sindhu.

The news of the formation of a strong confederacy against Sudās did not take a long time to reach him. He found almost all the principal Aryan tribes, including the Purus, arrayed against him, and considered the situation very grave and serious for him. He thought that a strong alliance must be met by a similarly strong counter-alliance; otherwise the result was surely to be disastrous. Almost all the important tribes living on the east, west and south of his kingdom and three tribes living on the north had joined the confederacy. He, therefore, naturally approached some northern Āryan tribes (all of whom did not probably subscribe to the Vedic faith) for help, and formed an alliance with the Parçus and the Pṛthus (Rv. vii. 83, 1) and the Alinas, the Pakthas, the Bhalānas, the Çivas, and the Viṣāṇins who, according to

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[*] Griffith's Translation of the Rigveda.

Zimmer, lived to the north-east of modern Kafiristan. Ludwig is of opinion that the Pṛthus and the Parçus can be identified respectively with the Parthians and the Persians of later times; but on this point there is a difference of opinion.[7] As regards the Alinas, the Bhalānas, the Pakthas, etc., Roth thinks that they were Sudās's allies in the great war,[8] and Zimmer at first agreed with this view,[9] though he subsequently changed his opinion. They might have been their enemies at first, as Divodāsa's fight with Tūrvayāṇa, king of the Pakthas, goes to show (Ṛv. i. 53, 10). But Sudās, in view of the impending danger to his kingdom, must have formed a new alliance with them, and assigned to some of them the task of keeping the advance of the Purus from the north-west in check by invading his territory. It is perfectly reasonable to surmise that in the predicament in which Sudās was placed, he did not think it either prudent or safe to rely on his unaided arms alone, but that he was obliged to seek the help of other powerful tribes in this unequal contest. Sudās was the special protégé of Indra, and as the tribes, the Alinas, Pakthas, etc., mentioned in Ṛv. vii. 18, 7, "glorified that Indra who recovered the cattle of the Ārya from the plunderers, who slew the enemies in battle," the inference would be natural that they were Sudās's allies. However this may be, there can be no doubt or question that the Tṛtsu King, guided by the sage counsel of Vasiṣṭha, made adequate preparations to meet the united army of the confederacy, and arrayed his forces on the northern bank of the Paruṣṇī.

The advance of the Confederates' hosts.

The confederates' hosts advanced, under the guidance of Viçvāmitra, from the east, and had to cross the Çatadru and Vipāç in their upper courses, before they could reach the southern bank of the Paruṣṇī. But these two rivers were found to be in high flood, and it was difficult for the united army to cross them without the help of boats. As the expedition was undoubtedly undertaken in the dry season (probably in autumn), when the waters of the rivers were naturally at a low level, the leaders of the confederacy had probably hoped, nay expected, to ford them easily without the help of boats, and so no provisions had been made for ferrying the army, horses, chariots, cars and bullocks across the streams. The flood in the two rivers was probably due to sudden heavy rain-fall on the mountains at their sources, and was in the nature of a freshet which temporarily obstructed the advance of the united army. At this juncture Viçvāmitra offered a prayer to the two rivers, beseeching them to bend low so as to give the army an easy ford:—

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[7] Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 134 *et seq.*, 434,435.

[8] *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda*, 95.

[9] *Altindisches Leben*, 126.

"Hear then, sisters, what the poet says: I came to you from far with loaded wagons. Now bend ye low, give me an easy ford; let not your waves touch my axle-tree, O Rivers." (Rv. iii. 33, 9).

The Rivers listened to Viçvāmitra's supplication, saying:

"We will heed thy word, O Ṛṣi, that cam'st to us from far with loaded wagons; I bend low before thee as a willing slave, as to her lord submits the bride." (Rv. iii. 39, 10).

The Bharatas, "filled with the ardour of battle" (Rv. iii. 33, 11) crossed the rivers as soon as the flood subsided, and reached the country between the Vipāç and the Paruṣṇī. Encamping themselves on the southern bank of the latter, they had recourse, first of all, to a stratagem. There had been an embankment or dyke along the northern bank of the Paruṣṇī (probably also called the *Adīnā* at this place) to protect the fertile low-lying lands and the villages and towns of the Tṛtsus, nestled among them, and the leaders of the invading army formed the plan of creating a breach in the embankment by cutting it open, higher up the river, so as to divert its waters through it, flooding the entire low-lying plains of the Tṛtsus, and thus secure an easy victory by embarrassing them. Had the season been rainy and the river in high flood, their stratagem would have been highly successful. But the season having been dry, and the water-level low, in spite of the recent flood that caused the Çatadru and the Vipāç to swell and obstruct the progress of the Bharatas, the current could not be diverted through the breach, but flowed on in its natural channel. The fact has been referred to in two Rigvedic verses by the Tṛtsu bard, Vasiṣṭha, and the failure of the stratagem attributed to the mercy of the great Indra :

"The evil-disposed and stupid (enemies of Sudās), crossing the humble Paruṣṇī river, have broken down its banks ; but he (Sudās) by his greatness pervades the earth, and Kavi, the son of Cayamāna, like a fallen victim, sleeps (in death).

"The waters flowed their regular course to the Paruṣṇī, nor (wandered) beyond it ; the quick courser (of the king) came to the accessible places, and Indra made the idly-talking enemies, with their numerous progeny, subject among men (to Sudās)" (Rv. vii, 18. 8. 9.) [10]

From the above verses it would appear that Kavi, a leader of the confederacy, undertook or was deputed to effect a breach in the embankments ; but Sudās was too alert and vigilant for him, and quickly appearing on horseback with his brave contingents to oppose him, engaged him in battle in which he was killed. Thus the plan of the enemies to flood the Tṛtsu country was frustrated, and the situation was saved.

The Battle, and Sudās's glorious Victory.

Sudās probably did not think it prudent to cross the Paruṣṇī with his entire army, and give battle to his enemies encamped on the southern bank. This step would have been highly unwise, and probably fatal, as he was threatened on the north and west by the Purus, under Purukutsa, and in fact, was surrounded on every side by his enemies. With the assistance of his allies, he had, therefore, to keep the advance of the powerful Purus in check. The river Paruṣṇī that ran between his encamped army and the main army of the confederacy, encamped on the other bank, afforded him some sure protection. But the situation had been getting serious, critical. nay intolerable, and something had to be immediately done to save it, and decide the issue in his favour. He, therefore, had recourse to a stratagem, boldly conceived and carried out. He detached a portion of his valiant army, crossed the river higher up with it, probably under cover of darkness (Ṛv. vii. 33, 3), and suddenly appearing at the rear of the enemy's camp, surrounded it, and surprised them, dealing a fierce and determined attack. The army of the confederacy had not expected an attack like this, and were not prepared to meet it. Panic at once seized the ranks, and a general confusion ensued in the camp. The leaders were at their wit's end, and found it impossible to rally the panic-stricken soldiers in battle-array and hurl back the terrible onslaught of the attackers. As the camp had been surrounded, there was no way for escape in any direction excepting the river, and a general stampede ensued in that direction. Men fled precipitately for their lives, hotly pursued by the attackers, who did terrible execution among them, killing their General Bheda.[11] Numbers hurled themselves into the Paruṣṇī, and were either drowned or carried away by the rapid currents. Those who safely reached the northern bank were at the mercy of Sudās's army encamped thereon, and were either killed or captured. Çruta, Kavaṣa, Vṛddha, and Druhyu, some of the valiant leaders of the confederacy, "were drowned in the waters." (Ṛv. vii. 18, 12.) Twenty-one leaders were slain "as a well-looking priest lops the sacred grass in the chamber of sacrifice" (Rv. iii. 33, 11), and thus was the annihilation of the vast army of the confederacy completed. "The warriors of the Anus and Druhyus intending (to carry off the) cattle, (hostile) to the pious (Sudās), perished to the number of sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty: such are the glorious acts of Indra." (Rv. vii. 18, 14). The carnage in the field of battle must, therefore, have been terrible. "The hostile Tṛtsus (meaning the *Bharatas*), ignorantly contending with Indra, fled, routed, as rapidly as rivers on a downward course, and being discomfited, abandoned all their possessions to Sudās.[12] Indra has scattered over the earth the hostile rival of the hero (Sudās), ...and baffled the wrath of the wrathful enemy, and the (foe) advancing on the way (against Sudās) has taken the path of flight." (Rv. vii. 18, 15. 16).

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[10] Wilson's Translations of the Rigveda.

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[11] Ṛv. vii. 33, 3. Elsewhere it is said that Bheda was killed afterwards. (Ṛv. vii. 18, 18-19).

Indeed, the victory achieved by Sudās over the confederacy of the Ten kings was highly brilliant and glorious, for all the odds had been against him. Though allied with some of the tribes of the north-west, who were probably employed to keep the advance of Purukutsa in check, he fought against the allied hosts almost single-handed, and, by stratagem, completely routed them, killing almost all their leaders. People were unwilling to believe that such a victory could be achieved by a mere man, or a human hero. He must have been actively assisted by Indra and the Gods; otherwise this miracle would not have happened. And there were ample grounds for this popular belief. When Sudās, after crossing the river with his select contingents, surrounded the enemy's camp from behind, foul weather suddenly appeared with high winds, which undoubtedly made confusion worse confounded, creating great disorder among the enemy's ranks. This fact is undoubtedly indicated in the following two verses :

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[12] The verse may also be translated thus: "The Tṛtsus, allied with Indra, rushed forth like waters rapidly following in their downward course. The ignorant enemy, having been routed, abandoned all their possessions to Sudās." This quite tallies with the context. Wilson's translation as quoted above does not seem to have been correctly made.

"They who ride on parti-coloured cattle (the Maruts), despatched by Pṛṣṇī, and recalling the engagement made by them with their friend (Indra), came like cattle from the pasturage, when left without a herdsman : the exulting *Niyut* steeds brought them quickly (against the foe). The hero, Indra, created the Maruts (for the assistance of the Rājā), who, ambitious of fame, slew one-and-twenty men on the two banks (of the Paruṣṇī) as a well-looking priest lops the sacred grass in the chamber of sacrifice." (Rv. vii. 18, 10. 11.)

This divine help has been freely acknowledged by the Vedic bard, Vasiṣṭha, in several verses of which the following one is remarkable :

"Indra has effected a valuable (donation) by a pauper: he has slain an old lion by a goat : he has cut the angles of the sacrificial post with a needle: he has given all the spoils (of the enemy) to Sudās." (Rv. vii. 18, 17.)

Though the battle was won, and the allied army completely routed, nay annihilated, Sudās did not immediately rest on his oars, but followed up his victory by an invasion of the territories of his enemies, and "quickly demolished their strongholds and their seven cities." (Rv. vii. 18, 13.) The territory of the Anus was annexed (Rv. vii. 18, 13); the Turavças, the Druhyus and the Bharatas were humbled; "the subjugation of the turbulent Bheda, who holds men praising that (Indra) as guilty of wickedness" was effected, and "the dwellers on the Yamunā and the Tṛtsus glorified Indra when he killed Bheda in battle" (Rv. vii. 18, 18. 19). As regards the Ajas, the Çighrus and the Yakṣus, they too were subjugated and they "offered to him (Indra) as a sacrifice the heads of the horses (killed in combat)." (Rv. vii. 18, 19.) According to the scholiast, this last passage means that "they presented the best horses taken."

The booty which Sudās collected in the course of his victorious march was immense, and freely distributed among the sages and his friends. Vasiṣṭha thus praises Sudās for the valuable gifts made to him :

"Praising the liberality of Sudās, the grandson of Devavat, the son of Pijavana, the donor of two hundred cows, and of two chariots with two wives, I, worthy (of the gifts), circumambulate thee, Agni, like the ministrant priest in the chamber (of sacrifice).

"Four horses having golden trappings, going steadily on a difficult road, celebrated on the earth, the excellent and acceptable gifts (made) to me by Sudās, the son of Pijavana, bear me as a son (to obtain) food and progeny.

"The seven worlds praise (Sudās) as if he were Indra: him whose fame (spreads) through the spacious heaven and earth: who, munificent, has distributed (wealth) on every eminent person, and (for whom) the flowing (rivers) have destroyed Yudhāmadhī in war."[13] (Rv. vii. 18, 22-24).

Verily, Sudās was one of the most famous kings in Rigvedic history. As a result of his wars, all the important Āryan tribes of Sapta-Sindhu were brought under one rule, if only for a time, and the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas probably amalgamated as one people. The discomfiture of Viçvāmitra was complete, and the Vasiṣṭhas rose in popular esteem and deservedly became famous for their piety and high spiritual powers.

ABINAS CHANDRA DAS

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[13] Wilson's Translation of the Rig-veda.

IMPRESSIONS ABOUT THE TRIBES OF BALUCHISTAN

Meds.—The Meds represent a sea-faring or what Riplay calls an oceanic race. They have broad heads, oval faces, long regular features, and a nose with a longish tip. The long hair on their heads give them a somewhat womanish appearance. The men are of middling size with brownish skin and hazel eyes. It is an active and lively little race with a spirit of adventure characteristic of all oceanic races. They were pirates in former days and were the dread of the coast in pre-British times. Even now, their criminal propensities are in evidence from the traditions I heard about them from one of their creditors—a Bania of Karachi who travelled with us. About twenty-three years ago (A.D. 1900) they looted at Gwādar a large ship from the Persian Gulf, and my informant himself bought for about Rs. 1,500 dates worth over Rs. 3,000. How dexterously they killed the survivors of the unfortunate vessel, how rapidly they removed the contents to sea, and how quickly they reshipped them for export to different ports in India, was related to me with some pride by the ever alert Bania.

The Muhammadan religion forced on the ancestors of these people has effaced all sense of purity of blood and the ancient historical race is being spoilt. Every man or woman with no work comes to the Makran ports and takes to fishing. He or she then becomes a Med. In this respect the Meds differ from the Koras who do not give their daughters in marriage outside the clan. On admission into the tribe or society, a new-comer is entitled to obtain women in marriage from the tribe. The heads and part of the entrails of the extensive quantity of fish they dry are wasted. Their open exposure on the beach makes their villages an ever active volcano of stinks. It is possible to train them to use this material as manure by burying it underground for some time in trenches as is done at Poona and elsewhere with night-soil. The fertility of the soil will increase, shrubs will grow on the sand and prevent its being easily washed down, as their roots will hold it fast. It is also possible to improve their condition by starting small manufactures for curing or tinning sardines before they are exported (this has been subsequently done). The copious supply of shells available would supply an excellent material for the manufacture of slaked lime and mortar. It has been utilized at Kurla near Bombay. (*Vide* my article in the Thana Gazetteer.) The lime thus produced may either be used for building *pacca* houses for the Meds themselves or exported. In the Meds an excellent material is at hand for training *lāskārs* on board coasting steamers.

Bandijas.—The Bandijas of the Hab valley near Hinidan belong to quite a different race. They are short, slender, broad-headed, dark, mild and easily tractable. My impression is, that they are born of the Hindus of Sind, who were converted to the Muhammadan faith after the Arab invasions in the seventeenth century of the Christian era. Some of them at least are still fortune-tellers. Further investigation may establish their connection with the Dravidian Gypsies of India. Some of their clans connect themselves with the Burfat race of Sind.

Chhutas.—The Chhutas or freedmen may have once belonged to the same tribe with the Bandijas, but at present they are decidedly superior in stature and broader in head. Eye hazel, face oval, stature medium.

Mengals.—The Mengals are mountaineers and are reckoned among the Brahuis. They differ from the Chhutas and Bandijas in features. They are fairer, taller, more manly, and somewhat ferocious looking. Noses measured, but they mostly belonged to the Mir Haji clan. Eye hazel, with a greenish tint. The greenish tint in their eyes bespeaks ferocity. They have their noses prominent. In many cases the tip is turned to the right a peculiarity which attracted my attention. It is a wild, brave race, barbarous and uncivilized but probably contains good fighting material.

Brahuis.—To me the term Brahui is still somewhat confusing. Many tribes, I believe, claim to be Brahuis because it is accepted to be a socially superior race. The Brahui is an intelligent and clever tribe as is seen in the two clerks and their relations, whom I met. I believe that the Brahuis will make excellent clerks and *munshis* if they can be trusted to the extent to which the faithful Punjabi is trusted.

I do not know who the *Sardār* at the Sorab really is by tribe but the features and measurements of his clan incline me to the belief that he belongs to a Persian stock. Does he claim to be a Brahui?

The wounded Sardār whom I examined at his village is another type altogether. He looks like a Scythian. Does he claim to be a Brahui? What, therefore, is a Brahui I do not yet realize.

Dehwars.—The Dehwārs are possibly the original aborigines of Baluchistan. It is a tribe superior to that of the Dravidian Indians, but somewhat mixed possibly with the Mengals. They are believed to be connected with the Tajiks, the ancient inhabitants of Persia and Central Asia. Their features are milder than those of the Mengals and not as cunning as those of the Brahuis. They are just what cultivators in all countries are, excepting the taint of fanaticism embued from the environments of the tract. They will in time be the working bees of the future agricultural department of Prospective Baluchistan, as civilized by the British Government. If the time ever comes for improving the water supply and culturable land of this Province, an excellent material is at hand to lead the plough. What Baluchistan wants is a regulated or well organized forest department, combined with irrigational as well as agricultural duties. The physical condition of Jhālāwan resembles that of France as described by Dr. Wellington Gray in his essay on

"Tree-planting and water supply of the Dekkan" published and distributed gratis by Sir Richard Temple's Government in Bombay. I was honoured with the duty of translating it into Marathi, of which edition, copies were also distributed broadcast. The rapid flow of the Rhone and the equally forcible rapids which feed that river resemble the mountain torrents of this tract and the ancient Gabrs have taught a lesson in constructing bunds the importance of which cannot be overrated.

Loris.—The Lori is a subject race. They look more like Indians than Baluchis although freely mixed with many tribes. They have yet retained their low stature, dark compexion, dark eyes, rough black hair, irregular features, timidity of nature peculiar to the Dravidian races of India. They are suspected to be gypsies of sort; they follow the profession of the minstrels and are the only artisans extant in Baluchistan. They are carpenters, smiths, mechanics, and domestic servants. Their women are *dhāis* or mid-wives. It is possible to develop this tribe into that of good artisans by the introduction of (1) the Indian potter's wheel, (2) the spinning wheel, (3) the primitive loom, (4) the simple carpenter's workshop, (5) the turner's simple apparatus, (6) the lapidary's stone, (7) the primitive smelter's anvil and hammer, (8) the stone-carver's scooping implements, (9) the wool-cleaner's shears, and things of this sort. An organized industrial department administered by an expert from India and subsidised by the State, will work wonders among these tractable and industriously inclined people, when weaned from their wandering minstrel's uncertain life. If industrial education has to be extended to Baluchistan I would respectfully advocate the establishment of a branch that would take under its "wings" the Loris of Baluchistan.

B. A. GUPTE

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF BENGAL

[A REJOINDER.]

In the July number of the *Calcutta Review* an "Observer" has entered into a plea for the revision of Permanent Settlement in Bengal. I personally hold no brief for either of the parties interested in this system of land revenue; but I believe that a proper discussion of the subject, at a time when our legislators are shouldering new and great responsibilities, will contribute to the best solution of the question. It should not be forgotten that there is always another side of the shield, and that the vast and varied issues involved in disturbing Permanent Settlement are of so much complicated nature and of so vital importance to the country that a larger consideration of it than has hitherto been attempted, is necessary at the hands of the jurists and the publicists of to-day.

As against the argument that in revising Permanent Settlement the Government will be running the risk of losing the very valuable support of an influential community, the "Observer" contends that the Zamindars of Bengal have so far failed to give very intelligent or active support to Government. But this is simply a matter of opinion, and I know of people quite competent to speak with authority on the subject, who hold that the Zamindars as a class have rendered quite a yeoman's service not only to Government but to the country at large. They have helped enormously in consolidating the fabric of a stable government in the land, and in ushering in an era of peace and order, making it possible for the people to forget those internal feuds and disorders which had rent the country into pieces, and to look ahead for an honourable place in the comity of nations. Without the helping hands of the Zamindars, this wonderful achievement—however much we may despise it to-day—would have been impossible.

In grave political exigencies the Zamindars have always been in the past an important factor in our body politic to be reckoned with. Their existence in the country with their conservative instincts and their loyalty to the side of law and order, because of their vast stake in the land, have exercised an effective check on the wild tendencies of the masses. If they have, in rare instances, stubbornly refused to lend their support to particular measures, it is because they are not angels, and so like the rest of mankind, they are zealous of their own interests. But there is no gainsaying the fact that they have exerted in the past wholesome influence on the illiterate people, and if there is one force in the country to arrest the progress of Bolshevist ideals in the India of to-morrow, it is the landed aristocracy. The extinction of this class will doubtlessly spell disaster to the country, no matter how greatly the more ardent spirits among our politicians may ridicule the idea. The "Observer" further observes that the fear of losing the support of the landed aristocracy should not deter Government from "action necessary in the public interest." Had he been aware of the widespread nature of the grave consequences that will follow the annulment of this system of land revenue, he would not have mistaken the direction in which the public interest truly lay. If you hit the landlord, you hit the tenants as well—their interests are so indissolubly linked up. If you lay the Zamindars under further contribution, their burden will be automatically transferred from their heads to those of the ryots. True, there is the wholesome provision of the law imposing a limit to enhancement of rents. But all the same, a loophole is bound to be there; and a single pice added to the burden of the tillers of the soil will be like the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. It is also true that of all the provinces Bengal and Behar—the permanently settled ones—are paying the least amount of land revenue per head, but this fact only explains why the ryots of these provinces are better off than those of other. The present system of Permanent Settlement has doubtlessly contributed to this prosperity. Are we then going to reverse it and ruin the agricultural prosperity of the land? If the ryots will be thus deprived even partially of the primary source of their income and livelihood, if they will be thus deprived of the wherewithal which enable them to resist the worst effects of famines, will it avail them in the least if we make better provisions for the education and medical relief of their children?

There is, however, another serious aspect of the question. We must take into account the acute hardships which the agricultrists—even 90 p.c. of the Zamindars, the small fry among them, are agriculturists—are experiencing of late on account of the dearth of labour in rural areas. Since the industrial boom has taken place, the towns and places of growing industries are becoming centres of attraction to which the labour population are migrating in their thousands every month. Labour for agricultural purposes has become now very costly, and it is feared that ere long it will not be available at all. Agriculture has, therefore, ceased to be the profitable pursuit that it was a few years back. A little taxation imposed at this moment will intensify the disinclination of the ryots towards agriculture which will pass from the hands of the *boná-fide* cultivators to those of the speculators. What it alone means to the economic condition of the peasantry is quite obvious. But the speculators too, as conditions become harder and prospects more hopeless, will have to drop this profession like a hot potato. The great industry of the country upon which the people can fall back, when all others fail, will thus be ruined. And the moment you destroy agriculture of the country, you pull down also the prop of our social edifice.

The "Observer" thinks that an enhanced tax on the Zamindars will not reduce their means for keeping up their social position, as their income is not small nor is it spent entirely on indispensable necessaries, individual or social. The "Observer" is entirely mistaken if he holds this view with regard to the Zamindars as a class. There may be a few individuals here and there in the ranks of the Zamindars as in those of commercial magnates and merchant princes, who may have been in the mind of the "Observer," but the generality of this much-maligned class are not open to this charge. It is no use making a grievance of the presence of a few enterprising Bengali Zamindars in Calcutta, men who finding Zamindari as no profitable concern have turned their eyes to fresh fields and pastures new. It is not due to this absentee landlordism that interest in agricultural reform has not been stimulated or up-to-date agricultural methods have not been introduced. The fact is that the Zamindars after having scrupulously worked hard to increase the yielding capacity of the land since the inauguration of Permanent Settlement—fancy their net income of 40 lacs in 1793 mounting to a figure of 10 crores of Rupees to-day—find that they are unable with their crippled resources to provide for an adequate outlay for improved agricultural methods and implements. Nor must it be forgotten that the social obligations of the Zamindars as the leaders of society, are very great and costly, and numerous ceremonies like marriages and *Sradh* in their families cost them quite a mint of money.

It is true that although provincial governments are incompetent to take up the question of the revision of Permanent Settlement, yet they can do so at the instance of the Government of India. But I still have my doubt as to whether the Government of India can interfere with this system at all. The Permanent Settlement of land revenue in Bengal is not a legislative enactment that can be amended, but a "Settlement" and a contract which cannot be broken under ordinary circumstances.

The "Observer" further enters into a series of arguments and tries to make out a case for rescinding Permanent

Settlement on the ground that the Zamindars have failed to rise to the height of Lord Cornwallis' expectation. At the present moment when we are removed by centuries from the time of Lord Cornwallis, it is not possible for us to form an idea of the measure or standard that he set up by which to judge of the Zamindars' fulfilment of their duties towards the ryots. But it admits of mere commonsense to presume that he could not have, by any stretch of imagination, eliminated all possible chances of friction and pinpricks in human affairs when two parties are so vitally concerned. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, could not have premised, it is reasonable to suppose, that the privileges of Permanent Settlement would be withdrawn on such flimsy grounds as are the stock-in-trade of our politicians of the Reforms Era. The chances of *zoolum*, eviction and enhancement of rent, as the "Observer" himself seems to admit, have been minimized, and if oppression on the part of the Zamindars exist to-day, I should be the first man to say that let our legislators and Government combine to put it down by all means, but in a fair and impartial spirit. Therein lies the proper remedy—but it hardly stands to reason to fling away Permanent Settlement. The next fault which the "Observer" finds with the Zemindars is that "they have been chary of investing capital in permanent improvements of the soil." But then, what does account for the net income of 40 lacs of the Zamindars in Bengal in 1793 rising to 10 crores to-day. Let the critic compare the condition of the country before Permanent Settlement with what it is to-day, and he will realize that the achievements of the Zamindars have not fallen below the expectations of a reasonable and practical administrator like Lord Cornwallis. Mr. James Pratt, a member of the Board of Revenue under the East India Company, wrote after his retirement thus :—

> "The country brought under the decennial system was for the most part wholly uncultivated. Indeed such was the state of country from the prevalence of jungles infested by wild beasts, that to go with any tolerable

> degree of safety from Calcutta to any of the adjacent districts a traveller was obliged to have at each stage four drums and as many torches; besides at this conjuncture, public credit was at its lowest ebb, and the Government was threatened with hostilities from various powerful native States. Lord Cornwallis' great and comprehensive mind saw that the only resource within his reach in the critical emergency was to establish public credit and redeem the extensive jungles of the country. These important objects, he perceived, could only be effected by giving to the country a perpetual land assessment made on the gross rental with reference to existing productiveness, and, therefore, promising to all those who would engage the encouragement of an immense profit from extending cultivation. Admitting the sacrifice was very great, I think it cannot be regretted when it is considered what difficulties it conquered, and what prosperity it had introduced."

Thus it is that vast tracts of land covered with jungles have been turned into smiling fields. And who has brought about this devoutly-to-be-wished-for consummation? The Zamindars of Bengal and Behar induced to import from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh as well as from the Central Provinces labourers who were called—and are still known in some parts of Bihar as—Oudhia (*i.e.*, those from Oudh) and Madhesia (*i.e.*, those from Central Provinces). The Zamindars gave them homestead lands free of rent at the time, advanced them capitals to bring the fallow lands under cultivation. After all these, the charge against them of having been "chary of investing capital in permanent improvements of the soil" does not come with a good grace from the critic.

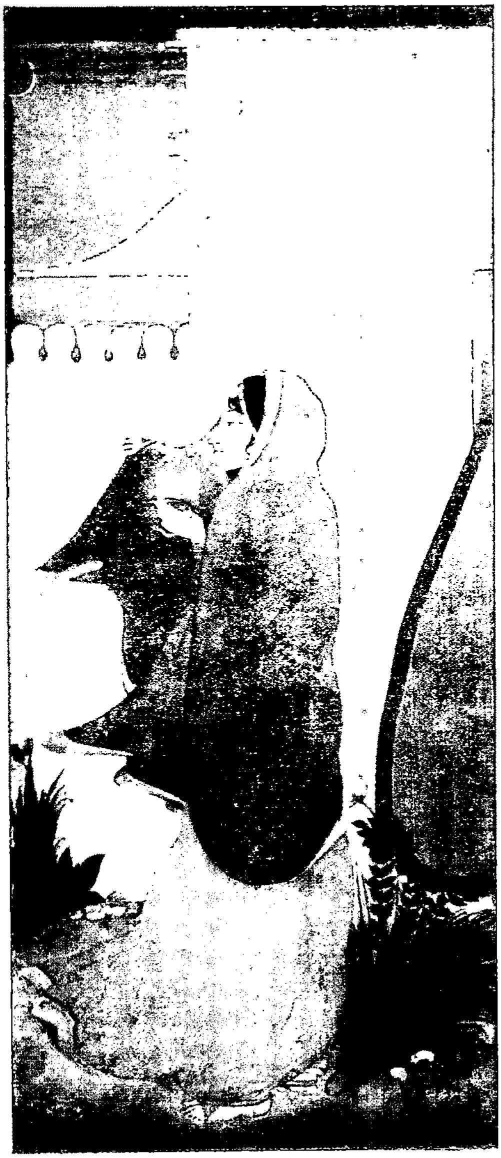
As regards the argument of the "Observer" that the legal advisers of a prospective buyer of a Zamindari must have acquainted him of the "British constitutional doctrine that no law can be regarded beyond amendment or repeal by Parliament in view of the latter's unlimited sovereignty," I do not know of the most scrupulous of them ever doing so. As a matter of fact, although such transactions are matters of daily occurrence, yet the purchaser or his legal adviser never bothers his mind with the probability of Government going back upon its pledge, nor does he ever feel himself called upon, fortified by this belief, to discuss the constitutional aspect of the question which can never impress a layman selling his interests. In fact, the cry for assailing Permanent Settlement was seldom, if ever, heard in the past; it has become persistent of late—since the introduction of the Reforms. It is indeed reasonable to infer, as the "Observer" does, that the realization by a prospective purchaser of the unstable nature of Permanent Settlement, would not have prevented many from purchasing their present estates. But they would not have certainly paid so high consideration in return, as they have done under the present circumstances, nor would the other party have screwed up the demand so high.

It is doubtful very much whether one seriously thinks that the incomes of Bengali merchants, traders, manufacturers, doctors and lawyers are hard-earned, while those of the Zamindars are unearned. Who wields the magic wand that produces heaps of money hourly and daily? Who has earned the epithet of "licensed freebooters" at the hands of a lawyer-politician? I can assure the "Observer" that had not the Zamindars envied the lot of lawyers and traders, they would not have resorted to Calcutta to devote their time and energies "to careers in the law and politics" or "to building up local industries," to which the "Observer" takes exception.

The "Observer" will be amused to find that the Madras Provincial Council recently adopted a resolution urging Government to extend the system of Permanent Settlement of land revenue to Madras. Even in the past a galaxy of distinguished administrators in this country endeavoured from time to time to secure the extension of this system to those parts of the country where it does not obtain at present. Their arguments are so conclusive—want of space forbids an examination of them here—that there can be hardly any room for doubt that Permanent Settlement has more than justified the hope of its author. It is only for few years in the past, when Government have been facing the rather puzzling problem of budget deficits and numerous demands upon its limited resources that our politicians have begun thinking of scraping off Permanent Settlement, and all far-fetched arguments have been arrayed against it.

But if Permanent Settlement is to continue unimpaired, one is apt to cry in despair :—" How can you feed the nation-building departments which are languishing for want of proper nourishment on account of the poverty of the Bengal Government ? " Well, the answer is very simple, if you can disabuse your mind of the idea that in further taxation lies our only hope and land is the only available source of income. There is certainly much to be hoped for in the direction of retrenchment. The recent appoinment of Retrenchment Committees all over the country have been a mere eye-wash. If these do not produce the desired result, the public must be determined, as the Hon. Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga hinted a few months back in the Council of State on the debate on salt-tax, to demand more retrenchment committees. The Government of India as well as the Provincial Governments have been chary of making earnest efforts to curtail expenditure. A few lacs of rupees saved here and there with a view to placate public opinion will not ease the situation. They must make drastic cuts, unmindful of the cry of those falling victim to the " Axe," in the larger interest of the public. The apathy of the powers-that-be in this country forms a sad contrast to the earnestness of the British Government at Home in carrying out the recommendations of the Geddes Commission to the fullest extent. The latter has cut down expenditure in public offices to the irreducible minimum in spite of the opposition of the vested interests and the formidable resistance of the departmental heads. And what is the result ? The British Budget has not only shown within the short compass of a year, a decent surplus, but conferred boons on the tax-payer by reducing duties on articles of daily consumption and by wiping out the war-liabilities of Great Britain to a large extent. Cannot the tremendous pressure of public opinion in this country compel Government to bring down the cost of administration from its present high-water mark? If this much we can achieve, we may certainly have prosperous budgets which will provide decently for the departments which require our tender care most.

M. M. S.



THE FLICKERING LIGHT

(*By courtesy of the Bharati*)

SONG TO AN EXILE

Ring golden bells of memory,
And echo echo long,
Till every door be open,
And hearts receive your song.
Till dust of days be flying,
Closed windows opened wide,
And blind eyes view the flowering
Of dreams on every side.

Ring golden bells of memory,
And echo echo long,
Till seas more glad are flowing,
And exile hearts grow strong.
Till England seems around you,
And Home's a light to guide,
And Love walks across the waters
To waken at your side.

Ring golden bells of memory,
And echo echo long,
Until thro' even absence,
We hearken to your song.

M. W.

SONG

Thy being absorbeth me,
As the moonlight doth the sea,
Clasped in thy silver arms,
Chained to thy magic charms,
I'd lose myself in thee,
And so live eternally.

Hath life an hour of rest
But on the Belovëd's breast?
There to lie and cease all thought,
There to sleep and dream of nought,
O love, if this were death,
Who would crave this mortal breath?

V. B.

THE QUADRUPLE EMPIRE

The Turkish empire, the Austrian empire, the German empire and the Russian empire are now in ruins. They came into existence at different periods of history, but they were doomed to disappear simultaneously. We are living in an age of disorder and destruction. The fateful twentieth century has come to see the ruin of empires. It has come into the world with a sword in its robust right hand. It has already ruined four empires, and now threatens to destroy a fifth, the oldest empire in the world—an empire which has existed and flourished for at least twenty thousand years. The nineteenth century was essentially an age of peace and construction. The twentieth century bids fair to prove one of war and destruction. The nineteenth century built Railways, Steamships, Telegraphs—in short it built Western Civilization. The creation of wealth was its keynote. Production and exchange were its method. It took a holiday in manslaughter, and devoted its superabundant energies to the augmentation of wealth, progress of learning, social development by differentiation and integration—in a word, it turned the world into something which looked like a single, vast and highly complex organism, with complete interdependence of parts, though it may be admitted that the organs were kept together by weak artificial bonds, which showed signs of snapping from time to time.

The twentieth century though barely out of teens, has already destroyed four empires, set nation against nation, race against race, drowned half the wealth of the world in the Atlantic Ocean, arrested the progress of learning, annihilated the flower of the youth of the Western world, thrown exchange and trade into chaos, atrophied industry, created bankruptcy and mistrust, and enhanced the moral distance between nations and continents, between mother countries and overseas dominions. Estrangement is the order of the day. Who knows what is in store for the world; what astounding experiences may shock it during the next seventy-five years? Who knows if the dreadful dragon will not complete its work in the next twenty-five years, and then take rest for the rest of its life to chuckle over what it has accomplished?

We can afford to leave the remote future to take care of itself, but we cannot shut our eyes to the dangers to which the greatest, the mightiest and the oldest empire lies exposed to-day, showing signs of a trembling, tottering, tumble-down, ramshackle condition. It is not invaded by foreign barbarians; indeed, it cannot be so invaded, for the empire is world-wide, and foreign armies can only come from the Moon or Mars. It is being shaken from within and is expecting a civil war of the moral and spiritual type.

What is this Quadruple Empire? It is larger than America, for that is a federation of States and this, a federation of Empires; that is limited to a continent, this extends over the entire world. It is also mightier, for the bond of union is political there, while it is moral, political, ethical and spiritual here. The Quadruple Empire is known to all, but by another name. It is the existing social order, the federation of four empires, *viz.* (1) the empire of Man over Woman, (2) the empire of the Minority over the Majority, (3) the empire of Race over Race and (4) the empire of the Magnified man over the Natural man. This Super-empire, the most ancient in the world, which has been growing and consolidating for twenty thousand years and more, is now on the throes of a mighty revolution threatening disruption, ruin and utter annihilation. Woman, the Majority, the Subject Races and the Natural Man having attained self-consciousness are simultaneously trying to assert their freedom, their equal rights with their rulers, either for good or evil, either for regeneration or degeneration, for new construction or utter destruction. The world is anticipating great events. It is an age of tumult and commotion, not one of rest and repose. It is an age of war, not one of peace ; an age of divine discontent, not of languid acquiescence. Its motto is " fight to finish " not " tantalizing compromise." The spirit of rebellion is rife all over the federated empire.

How and when the four empires came into existence, and became federated into a single Super-empire is not clearly known. Each has shown great autocratic power, while each has grown with the help of the other three. The integration and interdependence is now complete. The four empires have developed together, and are now expecting to die together; they are so blended, intercalated, interwoven, interlaced that one cannot live without the rest. I shall briefly pass over the history of the four empires, one by one for the sake of convenience.

I take up the first empire first, because its history is most interesting. Most persons know that the unlikeness between Man and Woman is natural, created by Nature, and not by Art. Unlikeness, they think, is marked by superiority and inferiority; and superiority pushes itself to the place of command, while inferiority glides into obedience. The unlikeness between the rich man and the poor man is artificial, but sexual unlikeness is the creation of Nature. A poor man may be made rich by the force of environment, but a woman can never become a man by any created power. Man is masculine, woman is feminine; man is strong, woman is weak. It is natural that man commands, and woman obeys. The empire of Man over Woman, therefore, rests on the solid bed-rock of Nature's Law.

This supposition is not wholly in accord with facts. There was a time when woman commanded and man obeyed ; when woman selected her bridegroom and man submitted ; when a woman married any number of men as, in some countries now, man marries any number of women; when women were rulers and men were subjects. That was in the Matriarchal Age, when polyandry was the rule and a necessity.

The subversion of the Matriarchate did not take place in a day. The empire of woman over man was created by Nature. She brought forth man, and gave him milk and brought him up. He was born with the instinct of love and respect for her; and the treatment she accorded him in the early days of his life enhanced the vigour of that instinct. The early life of humanity followed the same principles of moral life which the experience of childhood created and developed in him. The Mother of the world was necessarily the ruler of it. She was *Sakti*, the power, the preserver and destroyer of her creation. 'Bandemataram' means submission to this Goddess. His disrespect for and defiance of woman's dictates are a creation of Art of later times. Woman herself was to a large extent to blame for her downfall. She ruled man for thousands of years, and made him heedlessly, stupidly and through lack of experience, feel her superiority and acknowledge it openly, and submit to her dictates, her growing arrogance, haughtiness, blustering, her bullying and boasting language and her raciness, sauciness and other qualities which woman still displays in her miserable bondage, whenever she can get an opportunity.

Slowly and streadily did man acquire self-consciousness, with the result that woman's autocracy became intolerable; her despotism humiliating; her commands unobeyable; her swagger galling. Man lost his respect for the Mother, the *Sakti*, in proportion as woman became more and more saucy, peevish, vitriolic, explosive, eruptive and old-womanish. She had been deceived by Nature to think that her empire was eternal, and that nothing could demolish it. Her dictatorial mood had thickened into character by the force of practice, usage, custom, habit, instinct. It was custom and instinct that had kept man for ages to his bondage, his humility, his cowardice, his unquestioning submission, and his general spirit of acquiescence even where conviction revolted.

Slowly there came a turn. Nemesis threw a glaring stare at woman at a dreadfully oblique angle. Women multiplied faster than men. They lived in higher honour and better comfort; and like parasites grew in numbers. Their numerical strength proved to be a source of weakness. It was not by her muscularity that women was ruling; her dictatorship rested on a moral foundation, an emotional keystone, a spiritual illusion. That illusion was broken by the superiority in numbers. There came a time when there were more women than men. Woman lost her value in the marriage market. The law of supply and demand asserted itself. Woman ceased to select her spouse. She accepted *his* offer. Polyandry was replaced by polygamy. Slowly the pride of woman was humbled. In her palmy days she had flouted the idea of self-restraint in the indulgence of sensual and sexual pleasures. Sensuality had thickened into instinct, and she was now a slave of lust. The book of Genesis took its inspiration from the well-authenticated fact, when it put into the mouth of God the curse of undue desire in woman to see her husband.

Competition in the indulgence of race-preservative or race-reproductive appetite ruined woman, slowly made her a slave of man in the same way as competition in the indulgence of the self-preservative appetite makes the majority of the human race submit to the minority like slaves. Lust and hunger ruin empires, and make slaves of kings. Increasing population is a curse. Competition is an abomination. They ruined the empire of woman over man. They have ruined the empire of the minority over the majority.

There was an illusion underlying the empire of woman over man. There is an illusion underlying the empire of the minority over the majority. There is an illusion underlying the empire of Race over Race, and finally there is an illusion underlying the empire of the Magnified Man over the Natural Man. Illusions are destined to go; they must go slowly or speedily, but go they must. No empire, but equality, fraternity and liberty are Nature's Law. Indulgence and Competition are the Law of the Animal; restraint and abnegation are the Law for Man. The kingdom founded upon this Law will endure: the kingdom of God in the heart of man. The law for the animal cannot be the law for man; and when man tries to follow the inappropriate law he is bound to come to grief. All empires founded upon the law of the animal, upon unrestricted gratification of the passions and the appetites, and maintained by the forces of the ethics of Hate are destined to meet with the fate of the empire of woman over man, the Matriarchate of the days of yore, when time was young.

The history of the greatest revolution in the world is thus told. Over-population of the ruling class, and competition among its members for unrestrained indulgence in the animal passions, its very energy excessively devoted to race-preservation, brought about the revolution. It was effected without actual war, though not peacefully, slowly working through ages. Woman saw she was falling, but she saw it so indistinctly that she had no means of averting it. Philosophers say it was a case of evolution; and I have no quarrel with them. Woman was dislodged from position after position, from salient after salient. The feminine aristocracy was replaced by masculine magnates. The Matriarch was dethroned to make room for the Patriarch. Woman ultimately became a drawer of water and a gatherer of faggots. She was confined in the Zenana. Her intercourse with men out of it was prohibited. She was treated as a slave. Her health and intellect suffered equally, and she became inferior in reality as well as by reputation. But man did not stop there. To make the possible eternally impossible he established propaganda all over the world to show that woman was not only physically and intellectually inferior but she was morally inferior also. All sorts of calumnies were invented to disparage her character, and scattered broadcast over the world.

Woman's position was made worse by the practice, followed by conquering and surviving tribes, of enslaving the conquered men and making wives of their women. Over-population of women by biogenesis was aggravated by the dumping of woman from abroad. Nature and Art combined to make woman miserable. Man might have been less cruel and more generous to woman, but the memories of the past exasperated him, and he spared nothing to humiliate her.

The following extract from an address read by the present writer as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Girls' Schools Teachers' Conference held in March, 1922, will I hope, repay perusal :—

" The masculine sex, having dethroned woman, was engaged in an interminable struggle to construct a new form of society in which the other sex was destined to be the drawers of water and gatherers of faggot, though not the hewers of wood. We may suppose even from the small remnant of power and tenacity of purpose which she still possesses that woman did not yield her sceptre, her power, her aristocratic position in society (known on account of its smallness as the family) her privileges, prestige and honour without a protracted struggle lasting for centuries, probably, for thousands of years. During this period of transition man slowly turned out woman from position after position, from salient after salient, till the entire moral rule was monopolised by him, and the subjection of woman was complete, physically, morally and intellectually.

" The present physical inferiority of woman, nobody can deny. But she was not always physically weak. Look at the picture behind me, and you will be convinced what sinews and bones characterised the physical constitution of our grandmothers of the palæolithic age. Even at the present day, among the primitive races of India, among the Kols, Bhils and Santhals, we find fine specimens of womanhood. The women, as a rule, among these races are stout, robust and hardy. When I saw them for the first time in Chotonagpur, I was marvellously impressed by their general healthy appearance, their beaming cheerfulness, and their unmistakable looks of contentment. Their men compared very unfavourably, standing side by side with them, walking or marching with them to the market, and dancing with them at the *maghiparab.* The more the aborigines come into contact with the civilisation engineered by man, the more do their women tend to degenerate into sickly creatures and to yield precedence to their men. They are made to feel their inferiority to men, and when they work in the tea gardens or in the coal mines, they are given smaller wages to mark and induce inferiority in them.

"How has this inferiority been established in civilized society? It is the consequence of their want of freedom, of the enervating nature of the work relegated to them, of the early and continued maternity imposed upon them, of the restrictions placed in their way of healthful exercise, and the general mode of life to which they are forced by sentiments, habits, usages and customs, which issuing out of the persistent propaganda work conducted by men have, under the cruel sanctions of man-dominated public opinion, been gradually constituted into instincts.

"Subjected women have been treated as a subject race. You are aware how in the ancient world conquerors treated the members of a conquered race or tribe. They made slaves of men, and wives of the women. In the revolutionary struggle women were enslaved by men as though they were defeated and taken captives in inter-tribal war, and as though they never belonged to the same race as the victors. Perhaps in the time of their ascendancy women had held their sway with excessive arrogance and high-handedness, making men feel their inferiority at every step; and retaliation came with a vengeance. The memory of past humiliation continued to rankle in the heart of man, and made him brutish; and Nemesis came with a red-hot rod of iron. Slavery was substituted for masterfulness overdone. I hope in course of time when woman recovers her just and fair share in the benefits of social life, she will observe enlightened moderation. She will not try to pull down man, but push herself up. She will not allow co-operation to be disfigured by competition. I express this hope by way of warning, as I am often grieved to find that the character of woman has an innate tendency to run into unreasonableness and to take undue advantage of the small concessions made to her even in her present melancholy condition of subjection, and to lose proper balance in her treatment to man.

"It would be interesting to dwell upon certain features of the manner in which woman has been brought to her present condition of humiliation, weakness, unfitness for the higher functions of social life, of contemptible submission to masculine repression, and above all, of the manner in which she has been made to feel and acknowledge her inferiority to man. She was segregated and deprived of the power of combination among her own sex, to say nothing of seeking for the possible help available among sympathetic characters of the other sex. She was deprived of the opportunities of outdoor and virile exercise, and confined like prisoners in ill-lighted, ill-ventilated houses, and given work of a dull, dreary and monotonous kind which exercised neither her limbs nor her intelligence to any higher purpose. Care was taken to limit the universe in which she lived to the four corners of the family; and when her mind and body had become weak, science, theology and metaphysics were brought in to prove that God intended her to be weak in mind and body, and that Nature, the instrument of God's will had specifically made her what she was.

Superlative ingenuity and malignity was shown by man to prove the moral weakness of woman. Facts and arguments were invented for the purpose; and divine authority was attached to sheer calumny to make them irresistible, to remove them from the sphere of rational criticism, to place them above the reach of contradiction or discussion. Hebrew tradition ascribes the loss of paradise to the moral weakness of woman, she having yielded to temptations offered by God's enemy, and committed the first act of dire disobedience of divine command, and morally persuaded man to follow her. The tremendous significance, of this story (I speak with the profoundest respect for the sentiments of those, who accept it as revealed knowledge) manifested itself in the refusal of man to listen to feminine advice or to have patience with her arguments even in matters of important domestic concern, and in the general arbitrariness and malevolence of his treatment of woman, as if she still carried the famous half of the fruit of paradise in her pocket from honeymoon to the Day of Judgment, that is, as if woman alone had fallen and man had not.

"Again when discovering the value of the power of numbers, as distinguished from the strength of limbs in inter-tribal wars, he was impelled by his pugnacious, militant nature to multiply his tribe with undue quickness, man invented the fiction that God had implanted in woman an uncontrollable desire to man; and again when in time of peace over-population proved an evil rather than a benefit, man proclaimed that God has explicitly cursed woman and not blessed her when He strengthened her affection for her husband. In the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, we read numerous references to the moral weakness of woman as the cause of the troubles of kings, nobles and ordinary individuals. Krishna says that even Sudras, Women and Vaisyas may be saved if they are truly devoted to Him. The subject becomes oppressive when we come to the Santiparva, in which the

God-like Bhisma dilates on the natural moral weakness of woman, and it becomes positively nauseating when we read the Arabian Nights and the Persian Tales. The Pentateuch is read in millions of families all over the world, in Christendom and Islamic lands, and the Mahabharata carrying something like divine authority is read in hundreds of thousands of peaceful homes in Hindusthan. Such then is the nature of the propaganda work conducted by man for the humiliation and slow evolutionary degeneration of woman, with its teachings registered, as Herbert Spencer might say, in her nerves, blood and tissue. The object of the propaganda work was to create a new public opinion, a new moral and intellectual atmosphere, in which the strength of woman would wither like the morning flower, driving home even to the sufferer, fictitious causes of her suffering as if they represented divine truths, implanting in her the firm conviction that she had none to blame except herself or Nature for her misfortune. Generally, propaganda work is directed towards the dissemination of new formulæ, in party or class warfare, inspired by ill-will for the aggrandisement and glorification of one party, and the abasement and humiliation of another, masquerading like truths and driven like a wedge into the intellectual and emotional nature of men and women, and creating a new order of beliefs, mere shams slowly petrified into immutable convictions. It is in this way that men and women have come in the course of ages to accept as truths, formulæ which were originally launched out as propositions which the authors themselves did but hazily believe. For our present purpose, I mean formulæ which impress us with the idea that woman as contrasted with man is altogether an inferior being, bearing the form, but not the substance of man, and deserving in social relations only the form of respect and deference, not the substance of them.

"The inferiority of woman has thus come to be recognised in all religious creeds, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Confucianism. The result is that nearly the whole world seems to believe that woman is inferior to man as a rational creature. I am not a woman and a member of the Suffragette movement. I speak on behalf of humanity and truth, from the courage of my conviction even at the risk of being denounced by those for whose benefit I speak. Denunciation from that quarter would not come to me as a shock, or even as a disagreeable surprise. Such denunciation would only strengthen my conviction and put heart into me. It is not my purpose to sow the seeds of discord between man and woman, co-operating partners in social life, co-ordinating their efforts for social progress, not as competitors in a gladiatorial show. Truth alone can help this amiable cause.

"The maleficent world-wide propaganda work, that has resulted in the false belief described above, has been carried on for about twenty thousand years, *i. e.*, ever since the dethronement of woman from the matriarchal throne. A counter-propaganda work is slowly at work for a short time, and it seems to me that if woman can ever acquire a just and fair position of equality, the real substance and not a mere form of courtesy and hypocrisy, in two thousand years, she will have achieved a quick and brilliant success.

You are aware that man is ever running in quest of happiness. Happiness is his objective in this world. It is his objective in the next. No doubt the two happinesses are divergent in character, and in some respects in conflict with each other; still they represent one and the same feeling in different spheres of life, attainable by different modes of activity. The materials which contribute to happiness in this world are tersely described as beauty and utility. Beauty is said to stand higher than utility, as it is supposed to satisfy a higher craving. But the material is a material after all.

"Man used woman as material for the gratification of both the cravings. He used her sometimes as an object of beauty, and sometimes as an object of utility. The moral code given to her insisted on her highest virtue consisting in her adaptation to man's wishes, *i. e.*, in her power to please him, either by her beauty or by her utility or both ways. The significance of this law of virtue and morality has been tremendous. Man has at length, after thousands of years come to realise the error of this law, the error of the root principle on which this law rests. He has come to realise that woman was not born for man any more than man was born for woman in the matriarchal age. It is this discovery that has set man a-thinking how the condition of woman can be raised to a higher level from its present depth of ignorance, superstition and contemptibleness. He does not intend to raise her to a position of equality but something approximating to it, at least in form if not in substance. Here lies the secret of the existing movement all over the world for the regeneration of woman. Here lies the secret which has brought us together here to-day."

The present condition of woman is known to most people. It is the same in the civilized West as in the semi-civilized East. It is better now than it was a century ago; and in the West the change is faster than in the East. Still the concessions secured are nominal. Woman has no rights; she has duties. She is the worker, the operative in the family; man is the capitalist, the entrepreneur and superintendent of the concern. Maternity is imposed upon her recklessly; and her health breaks down early. She has no opportunities for culture, and she drags on a monotonous life, from day to day, from year to year. The Law gives her no rights, not even the right of protecting her person against violence of the most indecent kind practised by man provided he has received the Magna Charta of marriage. Marriage, indeed, is a contract which makes woman a bondswoman, against the law of Nature, which sanctions every contract except the one by which a person sells himself or herself into slavery.

In Europe, a certain amount of superficial respect is shown, but at bottom the condition does not much differ from what obtains in the East. The public service was closed to her until lately. She always had the right of serving as a domestic servant. The right that she first obtained in the direction of open service was the right to work in mines and factories, albeit on lower wages than what were given to a labourer of the masculine sex. Every woman is not weaker than every man. But her time-value is smaller in all cases. She, however, considered the right as a great privilege, though it brought her no dignity and little remuneration; for thousands of women swarmed in in quest of employment in factories. On the other hand, she, in most cases, lost her more valuable asset, namely, physical health and moral purity. She suffered from the smoke and noise of the factories and the dirt of masculine perfidy.

She is now allowed to work as a clerk. She can be a barrister and even a member of Parliament. The entire womanhood of England is represented to-day by a single member of the sex. But so long as the institution of marriage remains intact with its dreadful contract and its frightful terms woman can have no real liberty, personal, moral or political.

Woman, however, has become self-conscious now. During recent years she has been engaged in incessant warfare with man for her emancipation at home and abroad. In India she is a slave of the secondary strata. However, she is trying to liberate herself by passive resistance, active aggression and non-co-operation. Domestic peace is now rare both in the East and the West, as the result of aggressive non-co-operation. The suffragettes have shown what stuff woman is made of. Indian women are rapidly snatching from men the right of free locomotion, free market transactions and free visitations. They have acquired the right of free speech and free thought; and the press supplies every day trainloads of the produce of free-thinking, calculated to deprive the household of all order, peace, decency and contentment. The present state of domestic war cannot continue indefinitely. It must soon end either in victory or vanquishment, either turning the contract into a mere scrap of paper, or stiffening its terms by the force of law, with tremendous legal sanctions. Woman must either obtain complete and open emancipation, or be driven back to complete subjection, to slavery in fact. The latter result is less probable as public opinion is more favourable to the former. Rushing waters respect no embankment. Old embankments are denuded, and there is no sign of new ones being built.

Matters have already come to a crisis. In many households, the wife looks after everything and the husband takes care of the gold fish. The husband seldom has his way in anything except when the couple agree. The husband earns scantily and the wife spends prodigally with the result that bankruptcy overtakes the growing family. Half the women are soured tempered, because they wear high-heeled shoes. The other half have lost their temper permanently because they have no high-heeled shoes to wear. Insanity is increasing, and marriage is becoming rare. Respectable men refuse to marry because they love independence. Respectable women refuse to marry because the law is unjust towards married women. Socialism has a scheme for socialising sexual gratification; for, at present, man still pretends to treat his wife as private property, either useful or beautiful.

The life contract theory is automatically void at forty-five if race-preservation is the object of marriage, because by then she ceases to be useful, and as to beauty, she must have lost it long before. The institution of marriage is thus anomalous. Besides no person, man or woman, can contract himself or herself into slavery. If, on the other hand, marriage is intended to serve the purposes of pure love, it is remarkable with what rapidity pure love is vanishing with the progress of civilization! Mercantile marriage is becoming common. The number of cases of divorce is increasing, judicial separations are increasing, as well as separation by mutual agreement. Sulkiness and domestic estrangements enter into no census returns. From whatever point of view we look at the present condition of the institution of marriage, we see a gloomy prospect before it. With the abolition of this institution woman will attain perfect freedom of action restrained only by the like freedom of man; and the Spencerian formula of justice will attain complete expression: growing preference of justice and fairness is sapping the foundation of the old institution.

Nature is self-conflicting in her mood, and Art opposes her from a third direction. In her solicitude for the preservation of the race, Nature creates Hate in the heart of man, and prepares him for the struggle for existence, which is destructive by nature. Nature thus preserves the Race by destroying it. This is no epigram, but the plain statement of a formidable truth. Nature has implanted in man an insatiable desire for happiness, comfort and abundance. She has at the same time ordained that man shall multiply faster than subsistence. She has implanted in man the desire for self-preservation. Nature slaughters the individual to preserve the race. Between the desire for self-preservation and the antagonistic desire for race-preservation, man finds himself bewildered and dumb-foundered, as if he were placed between the lips of a vice. In his madness he marries to preserve the race, and is disappointed to find that his power for self-preservation has decreased. In his madness for self-preservation he refuses to marry, and finds himself uncomfortable and unhappy in his abundance. In this world every reasonable man has reason to be mad. This opinion was given by O. W. Holmes. Mill openly complained that Nature was cruel, clumsy and unjust.

Under the above circumstances we should not be at all surprised if the institution of marriage tentatively introduced into society and persistently tried without unadulterated success for twenty thousand years, should at length be found unsuitable and disagreeable. With the abolition of marriage the independence of woman will attain fullness. That is the idea which is quickly spreading over the world; in the civilized world more quickly than outside.

A discontented, unhappy race can never thrive or survive. Their disordered nerves disqualify them for survival. With what rapidity is insanity increasing in the world, specially in the feminine half of mankind! This insanity may help humanity in its effort to abolish the institution of marriage, if the conviction that the latter is incompatible with human happiness is firmly driven into the mind of the average man. One need not marvel if this really happen. What a huge amount of dissimulation and lying has been created by the futile effort to make two persons of unlike nature and unlike standards of morality (Spencer) cohere to each other for life, when mutual repulsion is nearly as great and as lasting as attraction. The fact is that truth is irritative, and falsehood is opiative; and man prefers peace at any cost. He stops the crevice with boulders of coal, and foolishly flatters himself that the volcano has become permanently extinct. Thunder is followed by soothing rain; rain is followed by heat; heat creates clouds; clouds bring on thunder again. The circular process is perennial; but the illusion of permanent conjugal peace is quickly vanishing; it is bound to vanish, with the most ancient empire. Reparation has become impossible; and man in his desperation is thinking of destruction, with the faint hope of reconstruction at some future time.

With the progress of feminine political liberty and with the expansion of feminine employment in the services, industrial, commercial and governmental, supervening on masculine employment and a harder struggle for existence, the prospects of the empire are rapidly running into a melancholy perspective; and it is not impossible that the twentieth century, likely the next quarter of it, will leave the glorious edifice in ruins, and move on in quest o fnew adventures of destruction; for, the century has come to destroy every vestige of illusion, by which the world has so long been bolstered up.

If the condition of the first empire is bad, that of the second is worse. The empire of the minority over the majority is itself a dual empire. The united empire is called the empire of the parasites, aristocratic and plutocratic. The two classes of parasites have entered into a coalition, a social union, cemented by what has been called Mercantile marriage by Herbert Spencer. The muscles and the sinews now form one morphological structure—the structure of a dragon that is continually staring at the masses with a dreadful glare.

But already its tail is wagging between the hind legs, for the masses have found strength in numbers surpassing the strength of muscles and sinews, which supports the imperial parasites. They "strike" in return when the enemy throws at them the bombs of harsh treatment and low wages. They have gained much. Employers now pretend to give comfort to employees besides subsistence allowance. They have discovered that an army of workers enfeebled by inadequate gratification of their physical wants is a source of weakness and higher cost, while the pressure of competition with foreign industries makes them chary of generous treatment. The consumers at home and abroad must also be kept in good humour. Conflicting claims bewilder them. Matters are in the meanwhile coming to a crisis. The depreciated currency, a spirit of self-containedness in the weaker countries and of boycott of foreign goods, a spirit of non-co-operation and asceticism, a general spirit of revolt and destruction mingled with the courage of despair, a desire for equality at any level and a callousness of unprecedented strength. The great Napoleonic war had given rise to a similar state of things; but the condition was different in those days, and Napoleon's ambition and capacity for evil were smaller than those of the Kaiser. The devastations were less; the demoralization was weaker and less general, and commercial competition was invertibrate, while the Mechanical Revolution was rapidly advancing to set the world in working order. The Industrial world was in its youth then. It was approaching old age at the beginning of the the World War, and is now suffering from asthmatic fits, threatening to choke up its breath. Exports and imports have both fallen—exports from the agricultural countries to a less extent than imports to the industrial countries. The situation is indeed bewildering both for employer and employee. Lessened profits create despair in the one, and the Iron Law of wages maddens the other.

Despite all these unfavourable circumstances labour has gained unprecedented triumphs. It has reduced the hours of work, increased wages, built houses and secured adventitious advantages—all by the power of incorporated members. One class of illusions is being substituted for another. The plutocrats are giving way, and the proletariat are advancing. In Russia, they have upset the old order, the empire of the Tsar of all the Russias; and every other country is suffering from infection. In short, the empire of the parasites, the most ancient empire, the backbone of the quadruple empire, is showing signs of decay and eventual destruction. History moves fast in the twentieth century, and who can see the future? Bankruptcy is visible everywhere in the commercial world, in governmental activities and public movements. The bankruptcy of moral power overtops all.

As to the third empire—the empire of Race over Race—the subject belongs to politics and not to literature proper.

This empire also is as old as Selfishness, Hate, War, Nomadism, Occupation, Colonization, Conquest, Depredation, Extermination, and Enslavement. I shall not dwell upon it beyond stating the gloomily glorious fact that the empire has been pining and dwindling for sometime by the effects of its own violence. There is a poisonous gas in the breath of the aggressive races which causes the disappearance of the weaker races, who being placed in contact with them inhale it. This gas has not fully succeeded in Asia, though it has weakened the constitution of the people, both physical and moral. Some patriots in India complain that India has become a dying race. They certainly are not dying, but are being spiritually and bodily palsied and atrophied by the gas, and though they are becoming more and more unfit for survival, they are increasing in numbers, disproving the law of Natural Selection, which is supposed incapable of bearing the sight of unfitness. Perhaps the true secret of the fitness for survival is not yet discovered. Perhaps the secret lies not in physical power, but in mental aptitude, not in the capacity for the gratification of physiological and æsthetic appetites, but in the power to check them. India now consumes less than half the piece goods which she used before the war, and yet she feels very little privation. The world moves as before, and having looked on the blast with disdain and allowed the legion thunder past, is easily plunged in deep contemplation. Hers is the life of thought, not the life of action. She lives upon the commodities produced by philosophy, and can dispense with those of the factories. The Indians are undying, physically weak but spiritually robust; they can challenge the blandishments of comforts and can starve out conquerors by fasting and going half naked, and paying no customs duties. For if a man has given up those things, which are subject to foreign fate, and ceased to regard them as parts of himself at all, the government is well nigh powerless against him. The Stoic receipt for contentment was to dispossess oneself in advance of all that was out of one's power,—then fortune might rain down unfelt. Carlyle said " Make thy claim of wages a zero, then hast thou the world under your feet. Well did the wisest of our time write, it is only with renunciation that life, properly speaking, can be said to begin." That is India's ideal of self-consciousness and freedom. A people that has not learnt to hate or has given up the habit of hating need be afraid of no enemy. A people that hates without the power to make hate efficient is bound to die out. Thus, one way and another, the prospects of the third empire are by no means bright. Besides, the fall of the second empire, if it happens, will involve the fall of the third.

Lastly, the empire of the Magnified man over the Natural man is, an exceedingly controversial subject, Hindus, Christians and Mussalmans being alike interested. Man has a mind and a body. The idolater creates a God in full image of himself. The followers of revealed Religion give to their God only the mental qualities of man and keeps his physical nature as an unknown secret. It would be risky to enter into the criticism of either the full image or the half image. I shall only remark that though Super-Nature and Superstition are not identical in character and extent, yet the first has been travestied in such an ugly manner so far that it cannot stand in its present form. Human knowledge is as yet too meagre on the subject, but it is clear that every attempt at obtaining divine intervention and preferential treatment by prayer or propitiation whether for purposes of defence or of aggressive action makes the image look mean and deformed in proportion to the moral weakness which prompts the attempt. Super-Nature which comes in to interpret to primitive man the routine, external activities of Nature, is different from the Super-Nature which explains the ultimate inadequacy of Nature to gratify the aspirations of the most advanced man.

Anthropomorphism is a device invented in the dual empire for obtaining additional sanction for the penal laws created by the parasites for protecting their own dignity, power, wealth, leisure and comfort. The jail is not sufficiently stingful; so hell is created as a supplementary place of torture for thieves and cheats,—for the transgressors of the law regarding private property. Along with threats, promises of happiness are held out to those who respect the laws of the parasites. They go to Heaven after death.

The increase of crimes shows that these threats and promises are losing their efficacy among the unreasoning masses, while the Rationalists prove by other methods that faith in the inventions of parasites made for their own benefit is untenable.

The truth is that the Magnified Man having permeated and leavened the entire intellectual and moral atmosphere for three thousand years, probably for thirty thousand years, is now fatigued to take any active part in human affairs. He is suffering from the blows dealt by infidels, but still more by the perfidy and neglect of those who invoked him into existence. The parasites themselves are becoming infidels, probably, first, because the sanction has failed; and secondly because they are in quest of new sanctions; and thirdly, because they are in despair, disgusted; for, the second empire is tottering to its fall.

There is no anthropomorphic religion for the poor and the helpless. For Heaven helps those who help themselves. Heaven helped the parasites so long because they were resourceful enough to help themselves. They are now unable to help themselves, and divine help is being withheld from them. The poor are becoming self-conscious. They find that humility and lowness of spirit was preached to them for the benefit of the parasites by the supposititious Christ, who under the instigation of the parasites, pretended to be the Son of God. Nietzsche is to them the real Christ, and the Christ of the New Testament, anti-Christ.

It is now clear that all the four empires constituting the grand Quadruple Empire are in a bad way. The twentieth century is paralysing them.

We are apt to think that what has existed for a long time is destined to endure for ever; and the twenty thousand years during which the Quadruple Empire has endured locks like the back half of eternity. History and Biology show that everything, specially every living thing, is changeful. Nothing endures; at least it does not endure in its pristine purity. The Quadruple Empire has not so endured. Evolution would be impossible without such changefulness; and Human progress is part of the process of evolution; while Revolution differs from Evolution only in speed. History has been moving very fast since 1914 A.D. And no dogmatism is possible regarding its future course. Much depends on the will to believe, specially when the hypothesis relates to the future, and is not presently available for verification. Reason is not ruled out, but the Will is supreme in such a case, the Will again is driven and regulated by passions and prejudices, by fears and hopes, and the circumpressure of our caste and set. I do not ask anybody to believe that the Quadruple Empire will disappear in a given time. My object in writing this essay is to show, by appealing to experience, what part Reason can play on the formation of opinion on the subject.

K. C. SEN

EARLY ENGLISH THEATRE AND THE BENGALI DRAMA

(Another Supplement)

Apropos of Sir George Grierson's Supplement (which appeared in the October Number of the *Calcutta Review*) to Mr. Mohini Mohan Mukhopadhyay's article on 'The Early English Theatre and the Bengali Drama', it will be interesting to note that we have had a prior information about Herasim Lebedeff and his Bengali translation of the two English dramatic pieces, *The Disguise*, and *Love is the Best Doctor*. The following notice concerning the Russian adventurer appeared on page 177 of the Jyaiṣṭha Number of the *Vāsantī* (1328 B.S., *i.e.* 1921 A.D.), a Bengali weekly, printed and published at 14, Jaggarnath Dutt Street, Garpar, Calcutta :—

"পুরাতন প্রসঙ্গ

বাঙ্গালার আদি নাট্যকার ঃ—

আজ যাঁহার কথা বলিব, তিনি বাঙ্গালী নহেন, ভারতবর্ষের অন্য কোনও প্রদেশের লোক নহেন, এমন কি ইংরেজও নহেন ; তিনি রুষিয়ার লোক। হেরাসিম্ লেবেডেফ জাতিতে রুষ বটেন, কিন্তু ভারতের সহিত, বিশেষতঃ বাঙ্গালার সহিত তাঁহার সম্বন্ধ ঘনিষ্ঠভাবে বিজড়িত। বাঙ্গালী কখনও তাঁহার নাম করে না,—নাম বোধ হয় জানেও না, কিন্তু বাঙ্গালার নাট্যমন্দিরের ও নাট্যসাহিত্যের ইতিহাস লিখিতে গেলে তাঁহারই নাম সর্ব্বাগ্রে করা কর্ত্তব্য। কারণ বাঙ্গালা নাটক তিনিই সর্ব্বপ্রথম লিখিয়াছিলেন, এবং এদেশে রঙ্গমঞ্চ জিনিষটাও মনে হয় তাঁহারই হাতে প্রথম গড়িয়া উঠিয়াছিল।

হেরাসিমের জীবন বৈচিত্র্যপূর্ণ। তিনি কৃষকের সন্তান। প্রথম জীবনে রুষ-রাজদূতের কর্ম্ম গ্রহণ করিয়া তিনি নেপলস্ সহরে গমন করেন, তারপর প্যারিস ও লণ্ডনে কিছুকাল অবস্থান করিয়া রাজদূতরূপে মান্দ্রাজে আগমন করেন। এখানে দুই বৎসরকাল থাকিয়া তারপর ১৭৮৭ খ্রীষ্টাব্দে কলিকাতায় আসিয়া উপনীত হন।

লর্ড কর্ণওয়ালিস সে সময়ে ভারতের শাসন-দণ্ড পরিচালন করিতেছিলেন। বাঙ্গালার রাজনৈতিক-আকাশের কুজ্ঝটিকা তখন অনেকটা কাটিয়া গিয়াছিল।

হেরাসিম এই সময় কলিকাতায় থাকিয়া একজন পণ্ডিতের নিকট বাঙ্গালা, সংস্কৃত ও হিন্দী-ভাষা শিখিতে আরম্ভ করেন। বাঙ্গালা ভাষার উপর তাঁহার বেশ আধিপত্য জন্মিয়াছিল। ১৭৯৫ অব্দে তিনি "The Disguise" এবং "Love is the Best Doctor" নামক দুইখানি বিলাতী নাটকের বঙ্গানুবাদ করিয়াছিলেন। এই ১২৪ বৎসর পূর্ব্বে, নাটকাকারে আর কোনও বাঙ্গালা পুস্তক এদেশে ছিল বলিয়া অদ্যাবধি শুনি নাই। শুধু তাহাই নহে, হেরাসিম্ সাহেব এই সময় গবর্ণমেণ্টের অনুমতি লইয়া কলিকাতায় একটি রঙ্গালয়ের প্রতিষ্ঠাও করেন। এই রঙ্গমঞ্চেই তাঁহার বঙ্গানুবাদিত প্রথম নাটকখানি (The Disguise) অভিনয় হইয়াছিল। শুনিতে পাওয়া যায়, এ অভিনয়ের নাকি চারিদিক হইতে খুব প্রশংসাও হইয়াছিল। যাহা হউক, হেরাসিম্ যাহা এদেশে করিয়াছিলেন, তাহা স্মরণ-যোগ্য। ১০৪ বৎসর কাল গত হইল, তাঁহার মৃত্যু ঘটিয়াছে।"

This notice appeared without the name of its writer, but on enquiry I have come to learn that it was written by Mr. Amarendranath Roy, a reputed critic of the Bengali literature and the well-known author of the 'Rabiyānā.' We know of no contemporary reference to these two plays. About Lebedeff, however, some information is available in excess of what can be gathered from Sir George's Supplement or the Bengali notice referred to above. Fifteen years before the publication of Mr. Amarendranath Roy's article we find an account of Lebedeff in the *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (by C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 25, High Street, Bloomsbury, 1906), which we reproduce for ready reference :—

> "LEBEDEFF, HERASIM (1749-1815 ?)—A Russian : said to be a Ukraine peasant : took part in a Russian Embassy to Naples, 1775 : visited Paris and London : left England, 1785, apparently as a bandmaster, for Madras : stayed there 2 years : to Calcutta in August, 1787 : there met with a pandit who taught him Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindustani (the mixed Indian dialect, as he called it) : built, with Government

> permission, an Indian theatre at Calcutta, 1795: translated two English plays (*The Disguise* and *Love is the Best Doctor*) into Bengali: the former was publicly performed in November 1795, and March 1796, with great applause (according to its author): he then became theatrical manager to the Great Mogul and finally returned to England in 1801, after more than 20 years in the East. In London he published his Hindustani Grammar (Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects, arranged according to the Brahmenian System of the Shamscrit Language), 1801, and made the acquaintance of Woronzow, the Russian ambassador, who sent him to Russia. He was employed in the Russian Foreign Office and given a large subvention towards founding at St. Petersburg the "Imprimerie Indienne," a Sanskrit press: died after 1815." (p. 248.)

Buckland, although he does not acquaint us with it, might have drawn upon the same source as that of Sir George Grierson. While the information supplied by the latter is more detailed, Buckland enlightens us, which Sir George does not, about Lebedeff's career after 1801. Nevertheless, very many thanks are due to Sir George for furnishing the original and most trustworthy source of information about Lebedeff, namely, the latter's own words in the preface to his Hindōstānī Grammar, and for acquainting us, through Lebedeff, with a fact which is very important for the history of the Bengali theatre, namely, the employment of females to act dramatic pieces as early as 1795. Hitherto our earliest reference to Bengali actresses was dated 1831, the year of the performance of the *Vidyāsundar* at the residence of Nabinchandra Basu of Shambazar; the authoritative statement of Lebedeff, as furnished by Sir George is, therefore, so far as the employment of actresses is concerned, specially welcome as throwing fresh light on the history of the Bengali stage.

It is much to be regretted that no trace of Lebedeff's theatre can be found now in Dom Tollah and that nothing definite can be said about 'Golucknat-dash,' his 'Linguist.'

SAILENDRANATH MITRA

VENGEANCE IS MINE

CHAPTER XXII

TWO PLOTTERS

After Raghubhai had left Jasubha smiled at Ranubha and asked, "Is there a third also?".

Ranubha shook his head.

"Very good, Ranu. Now let us get away." Ranubha felt very much at his ease now. The thoughts that had oppressed him all through the day had disappeared at this moment of supreme crisis. At this moment his one idea was to save Jasubha and to offer up his suffering self as sacrifice for him.

"Certainly. We are easily a match for a dozen of these rustics."

"I don't think it will be at all necessary," cried Jasubha getting up. "See," he added, "here at the front door the men are quietly gossiping. Raghubhai has said that there are horses at the back door, so it seems that there is no guard that side. We shall take those same horses and get on to Kevalpur."

"Yes, Sire. But shall we thus show our backs?"

"Ranu, the old days of straight-fighting warriors like yourself are now gone. Our weapons to-day are more intellectual."

"As Your Highness wishes."

"But there may be some difficulty in discovering a way out of this. The monastery is as big as a village."

"Oh, there is no fear of that," assured Ranubha, and he loosened his sword-belt a little. Jasubha walked out of the room with him flourishing his stick as if he were taking a walk on the sands at Bombay. Electric lights were burning in some rooms, and this but made the darkness in the passages even deeper. With silent footsteps the two came down. After a while they met a Swami, who suddenly switched on a light. At one stride Jasubha hid himself behind a door and Ranubha followed. A moment later the light was put out and the Swami was gone. Wishing to avoid another such encounter on the way, Jasubha now took another direction and began to walk rapidly. In a moment they both came to a dead stop, for in front of them they heard two voices. The voices started different trains of thought in each of their minds. One was the rich expressive voice of Anantanand and the other seemed to be the low sweet hypocritical voice of Raghubhai. The voices were approaching and they both flattened themselves against the wall.

"Could we not talk it over in the morning," Anantanand was heard asking, "I am very busy just now."

"My business is of the utmost importance, otherwise I would not have troubled you at this hour. Please come to some quiet corner and listen to my statement and if you think it is not so important you may postpone it."

"Very well." And they both went on.

"Ranu, you see the two plotters," whispered Jasubha. Come, "let us follow them."

"Sire, do not think of that;" answered Ranubha under his breath, "let us now escape. We might be discovered." And Ranubha grasped Jasubha by the arm.

But Jasubha's blood was up. Like a tame tiger after tasting human blood, he felt all his soul afire after this first taste of danger and adventure. He was now quite determined to enjoy to the fullest this exciting adventure.

"Oh, go away if you want to. I will follow them and see this to the end." And he went forward. Ranubha followed in silence. The sound of Anantanand's voice, so revered until that day, upset him quite. He remembered the events of the evening, felt anger against the Swami, and his soul felt afresh the stab of the Swami's breach of faith. If he had had his own way he would never have seen the face of Anantanand; but just at that moment the claims of loyalty to his Prince were paramount.

They both followed the voices of the Swami and Raghubhai. By another staircase they went up again to the third floor and walking swiftly soon overtook the Swami. They were both afraid lest the sudden pressing of an electric button might betray their presence. At last they entered a long chamber, which seemed to be quite full of bookshelves. Jasubha carefully managed to follow them hiding behind the shelves from time to time. At last arriving at the further end of the room Anantanand lit a lamp. By the light of a single green-shaded lamp Jasubha saw the room and was astonished. The whole of that big room was filled with innumerable shelves all full of books. Jasubha had already learnt to admire the many good qualities of the Swami, but he had never dreamt that he was also a student of all these books which were in various languages as well.

There was a huge table where the lamp had been lit. The chamber looked like the study-room of some Professor of a Western University. The Swami moved a chair for Raghubhai and then sat down himself opposite him. Jasubha hid himself behind a bookcase near by and watched these two plotters who looked in the dim green light like two alchemists of old performing their wonderful experiments. Jasubha felt quite amused.

For a few moments Anantanand remained gazing fixedly at Raghubhai and the latter was collecting all his powers, which he felt slipping away from him, for the coming encounter.

"Well, Raghubhai, speak on," asked the Swami. Jasubha admired his calm dignity even at that moment. He had not even the slightest trace of the furtive looks of a traitor in his face. "The Swami is a terrible fellow," he muttered to himself.

"Sir," began Raghubhai, "we have now been working together for the last six years and more: and now at last the time has come for a straight, heart to heart talk."

"You know best about yourself. As for me I have always dealt straight and have spoken straight as well."

"This is not the time to discuss that," answered Raghubhai with eyes cast down, as he came to the point, "Maharaj, I want to tell you that ever since I began to be associated with you all my efforts have been on your behalf. And the proof of this assertion is what I have got to tell you now. By this you will be assured how much and how sincerely I am devoted to you."

The Swami's honest, straight look answered Raghubhai with their truthful radiance. He merely uttered a short "H'm?"

"Jasubha is here at present."

"Yes."

"Then this is the right moment to do what we want."

CHAPTER XXIII

ALAS! MY LUCK!

"And what do we want now?"

"You know it well, dear sir, what it is. Otherwise why should you have troubled to collect all the proofs of the mismanagement by Revashankar? And why should you have troubled to invite the Prince here. I know what your aim is and I think it my sacred duty to help you to achieve it."

"Very well then, what do you propose to do?" asked the Swami carelessly, as if it had never been any concern of his. When he did not wish to speak out his indifference was marvellous.

"Why ask such questions? Jashuba is in our hands. I have come to tell you of a great and wonderful secret I have discovered. Use it, and your goal is attained."

"And the reason for your coming to impart this 'great and wonderful secret' to *me*?"

Jasubha heaved a sigh of relief. His admiration for the Swami had increased to such a pitch that it was a positive relief to him to know that the Swami and Raghubhai were not fellow-plotters.

"What reason can I give but that I work with you and that this secret concerns you closely."

"Concerns *me* closely! What can concern a Sanyasi, who has nothing to call his own?"

"Call it what you like," cried Raghubhai somewhat bitterly (he was always annoyed at this manner of the Swami's talking), "once let this chance slip, it may never come again. Don't you know that Jasubha can be dethroned in a moment? And I alone know how that may be done."

"A faithful servant does not talk like that of the Master whose salt he eats."

"Sir, I know no false masters, nor false Princes. I serve only my true Lord. Wherever the son of the late revered Raja Mansing demands my life is a ready sacrifice."

Anantanand quietly looked at him.

"Sir, this is no time for lying quiet. We have no time now for thinking. If you permit me Jasubha might be made a beggar within four and twenty hours."

In his hiding place behind the bookcase Jasubha ground his teeth.

"How so?"

"How so! Do you not understand?" Raghubhai thought now that the Swami was completely ignorant and so he laid all his cards on the table: "Swamiji, Swamiji, what are you saying? Does the state of Ratnagadh belong to this wretched impostor? The true Prince of Ratnagadh is you yourself."

"Oh!" cried the Swami completely at his ease still gazing steadfastly at the man.

Jasubha was listening in the dark with eyes wide open.

"Yes, you. *You* are the true Prince. If you permit me you may be installed on the throne within a few weeks."

"Then who is Jasubha?"

"Jasubha? Pardon me, Maharaj, I have to speak of your royal mother, but there is no help. The Queen-mother had two sons, one born before her marriage, this Jasubha, and the other born in lawful wedlock, yourself."

There was no change in the Swami's face.

"Then how did he succeed to the throne?"

Raghubhai thought that the Swami was at last moved.

"The Queen-mother used to stay at Dersal and was a pupil of your teacher Amoghanand. She gave her first child into his keeping and then you were born. But she had intense love for her first-born and hence when he was a little older the children were exchanged, and Jasubha was accepted as the heir-apparent."

Behind the bookcase Ranubha and Jasubha were staring at each other with blank astonishment. The hearts of both were beating audibly.

"And what proofs have you got?"

"Proofs? As many as you need. There are witnesses, Dolasha and Kalyan Nayak besides the papers and the horoscope. I only wait for your permission, and even in the Residency friends have been secured."

"And you have come to me for my permission, Raghubhai?" calmly asked the Swami. There was the distant echo of unfathomed power in his voice. "And why did you assume that Anantanand will be your dupe? That he will give you the permission you need? That he will leave his lifelong Sannyas and will walk into the mire you point out to him?"

"Ah! Raghubhai, Ragubhai!" he added with deep compassion in his tones, "I sincerely pity you. Had you honesty of purpose in the same measure as you have cunning and ability, you might have become the source of happiness to many fellow human beings. But I see now your cup is full."

Raghubhai was terror-stricken, he could only mutely gaze at the bright eyes of the Swami.

"You think—do you not?—that I know nothing. That I am ignorant of your visit to Durgapuri and your meeting with Dolasha? Who tried to prevent Jasubha coming to Varat? Who conducted secret negotiations with Pestonji Seth? Who has made arrangements even to-day to capture me or to carry off Jasubha? And who has asked for men from the Residency to be here to-day? You and you alone, Raghubhai? And you had an interview but just now with Jasubha? Nice offers and conditions you made to him? And have you come here to me because he spurned you as you deserved? You have yet to learn that it is not easy to deceive Anantanand."

"However that may be, you are free to make use of my secret or not as you wish. I have nothing to lose thereby in either case," said Raghubhai, playing his last card in the game he knew he had lost.

"*Your* secret! I have known this secret during the last thirty years. But do you think I care for your secrets and for your petty state? My Sannyas is dearer far to me than such dependent kingdoms and such second-hand greatness, even than the Empire of the world. If the Queen-mother made a mistake it certainly has been for the best. Otherwise I would not have had even an infinitesimal part of the joy and the power that are mine to-day. If I had wished to dethrone Jasubha, do you think it was difficult for me? But why should I do so? What are states and kingdoms to me? If he likes to rule let him do so by all means. If I really want to rule it would not take me very long to get authority anywhere. I want to revive the State, not to destroy it. He has refused to remove Revashankar ; I will go to him again to-morrow and beg again from him—I will tell him that though the true Prince I beg of him on my knees to give me the power to save the State. I would not have told this secret to anyone, but if Jasubha does not listen to me I shall as a last resort make use of it in this manner. At present the poor fellow does not even know—"

"But he does," shouted Jasubha rushing out of his place of concealment. The dark cloud upon his mind had lifted. He now fully understood Anantanand and his high ideals and his true greatness. His heart was full as also his eyes. His cold selfishness had melted before the warmth of his love and admiration for the man.

The Swami and Raghubhai turned round sharply: and Raghubhai was now perfectly convinced that his game was lost ; all his tricks had been lost.

"Hallo, Jasubha!" cried the Swami smiling, his calm was absolutely unruffled. "There were some things repeated here which you ought not to have heard," he added.

But before he could utter this sentence Jasubha was on his knees at his feet, his tears fell fast.

"My brother, my brother, you are a god. This was indeed the finest thing for me to hear."

The Swami lifted him up kindly and patted him affectionately on the back.

"Jasubha, forget our relationship. How could I claim any family? In the language of the world you are my Prince and I am your Sannyasi. Please take a seat," and he offered him his own chair. But Jasubha preferred to stand. So all the four remained standing. Ranubha's emotions were very conflicting. His worship strove to thrust out of his heart but the remembrance of Champa seemed to restrain him somewhat. But he was the son of Mansingji and his own Guru ; he was, therefore, at perfect liberty to take her away. Champa was henceforth far beyond the reach of such as he.

"But Jasubha," said the Swami, pointing to Raghubhai, and stern and pitiless grew his eyes—like the lowering of a thundercloud at the end of a perfect day of spring,—"here is a gentleman whom we are treating with scant courtesy. Well, Raghubhai, is your little selfish game played out?"

"Raghubhai, now take yourself off," cried Jasubha with anger.

"Sir, you shall hear more of this to-morrow."

"What! you threaten me, fellow. I will write to the Residency to-morrow about you, that you tried to blackmail me."

"Sir, the proofs of your mother's im—"

Before he could finish the word Ranubha's hand was at his throat. Anantanand raised up his arm. His grave voice restrained the fury of Ranubha.

"Ranu, let him go. Such vermin is not worth your anger. Raghubhai, beware. Don't you try to play any more useless tricks with us." He opened a drawer in his table. "Here are your precious documents, and here the letters you wrote to Pestonji,—I hope nothing has been kept back. All your men are prisoners by now. Your Parsi friend is in my pay. Is there anything more? Oh, yes. Jasubha, just take this chair and write out an order for Raghubhai's deportation from your State.

Jasubha sat down to do what he was bid. He was as docile as a small boy.

"Raghubhai, go. You have no business in the state any longer. The world is wide. Remember the day you interfere again with Ratnagadh affairs shall be your last. Ramkisandasji suspended you within a well and pulled you out again, but Anantanand would not do that much. Go, and pray to God to cleanse your wicked heart." He touched a bell upon the table, and a servant entered: "Call Nitisen."

"Jasubha, now another favour."

"Yes, whatever you like."

"Please write a dismissal to Revashankar, and an order that some land in Ratnagadh be granted immediately to Varat." "You will get done everything you want. Poor Revashankar!" cried Jasubha taking the pen in his hand.

In a few minutes Nitisen arrived. He was a huge man but only about twenty years old.

"Jasubha, this is the Kotwal of Varat."

"A bit young, is he not?" laughed Jasubha.

"No, with us every youth between twenty and twenty-two learns to guard the town."

"Militia, Swamiji? You unfortunately were not born in Europe."

"There I might have died in a workhouse. Nitisen, you take this letter post to Ratnagadh and hand it over personally to the Divan. Take twenty-five men with you and there do what you are ordered. Ranubha, you have to take charge from Revashankar."

"I?" asked Ranubha with astonishment.

He looked at Jasubha with hesitation. "Ranu my Divan? Well, this is funny indeed."

"Shall I go, Jasubha?"

"Do not be afraid," assured Swamiji understanding his difficulty, "I will not allow a hair of your Jasubha to be harmed. Nitisen, send five more men with Raghubhai. And let him not converse with anybody until he is across the border of Ratnagadh. His horses have been waiting a long while."

"Had he got them ready?"

"Yes, the gentleman had called out the Residency troops. The horses belong to them."

Raghubhai cast a look of deep hatred at Anantanand and went out with his head hanging down. Nitisen followed. But Ranubha could not make up his mind to start.

"Ranubha," asked the Swami, "are you thinking of Champa?"

Ranubha blushed; the Swami had guessed correctly.

"I have not taken her away. She has gone to Girnar.[1] A few months hence she shall return a full-fledged Sannyasini. Now go and with an easy mind take over Revashankar's work."

Ranubha looked at the Swami with deepest relief and gratitude, and walked out with a light heart.

(*To be continued*)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

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[1] The holy mountain of Kathiawar. It stands near Junagadh.

THE POETRY OF AUROBINDO GHOSE[1]

The publication within the last three years of the poems of Aurobindo Ghose affords us an opportunity of reviewing the nature of his contribution to literature and realising its beauties as well as its deficiencies. In this connection it is important to remember that unlike his brother, Professor M. Ghose, Aurobindo Ghose is not primarily a poet, but a profound philosopher, who with Dr. Brajendranath Seal and Dwijendranath Tagore has been carrying on in modern times the metaphysical tradition of ancient India. While Dr. Seal has been mainly concerned in the laborious, if fascinating, task of exploring the extent of the philosophical and scientific knowledge of our ancestors, and Dwijendranath has employed his vividly original and unique genius in estimating the debt of Post-Kantian European philosophy to the ancient Indian systems, Aurobindo Ghose has been, for the last twelve years elaborating a comprehensive synthesis of knowledge based on an intimate acquaintance with the philosophy of the East and of the West. But it is rather strange that in spite of this, there is a complete separation in most of his poems between the imaginative and the contemplative elements—the union of which as in the poetry of Wordsworth or, Goethe, or Tagore, might have secured him a place with them. No doubt, he has occasionally tried to go beyond the limiting conditions of our sensual experience and to express the infinite mystery that shrouds the universe from positive knowledge. And Mr. Cousins, in his illuminating book on *New Ways in English Literature* has gone so far as to base on these evanescing instances,

[1] *Songs to Myrtilla* by Sri Aurobindo Ghose : *Arya* Publishing House, Calcutta, 1923.
Baji Probhou by Aurobindo Ghose : Arya Office, Pondicherry, 1922.
Love and Death by Aurobindo Ghose : Reprinted from Shama'a, 1921.
Ahana by Aurobindo Ghose (*out of print.*)

an analogy between Aurobindo Ghose and A. E., the Irish mystic. Of course our poet found it sweet—

To commune with the quiet heart and solitude
When earth is full of whispers, when
No daily voice is heard of men,
But higher audience brings
The footsteps of invisible things.

And in moments of inspired vision, he believes,—

All music is only the sound of His laughter,
All beauty the smile of His passionate bliss;
Our lives are His heart-beats, our rupture the bridal,
Of Radha and Krishna, our love is their kiss.

But such moments of spiritual exaltation, as are reflected in these and like passages, represent a passing phase rather than a permanent realisation. A poem like Emerson's *Brahma* or A. E.'s *Krishna*—distilling the quintessence of the metaphysical genius of India,—is what we had a right to expect from Aurobindo Ghose, and not to find it even amidst the deeper notes of *Ahana* must be to us a matter of keen disappointment.

The fact cannot be gainsaid that Aurobindo Ghose did not speak out in his verse from the depth of his soul. Poetry is something vital in our life when it expresses the vivid experience of a sensitive mind that is at once receptive and creative;—*i.e.*, that creates by transmuting the impressions that it receives by viewing it through a prevailing mood of the mind or investing it with a spiritual atmosphere. The mood represented in most of his poems is predominantly hedonistic, and the hedonism is of the most unsubstantial kind,—not as in Oscar Wilde and his school, which was sublimated almost to the point of a religion; but as a mental luxury, actuated by a distaste for the severities of existence and a desire to enjoy the life of the Lotus-land. The burden of his poetic creed is well expressed in the following lines,—

Stain not thy perfumed prime
With care for autumn's pale decay,
But live like these thy sunny day.

So when thy tender bloom must fall,
Then shalt thou be as one who tasted all
Life's honey and must now depart
A broken prodigal from pleasure's mart,
A leaf with whom each golden sunbeam sinned,
A dewy leaf and kissed by every wandering wind.

The reason for this disparity between his poetry and the intensely serious bent of his mind may be that his poetry is almost entirely the product of his youthful adolescent imagination, and it represents a mental condition which has been described by at least two of our greatest poets, Keats and Rabindranath. Keats has spoken of the space of life between boyhood and manhood when "the soul is in a ferment, the character undecided, the way of life uncertain, the ambition thick-sighted, whence proceeds "mawkishness" and other evils. Rabindranath, in his *Reminiscences*, has described "the borderland age" which is not "illumined by truth" and the poet "flitted about in...a baseless, substanceless world of imagination where even the most intense joys and sorrows seemed like the joys and sorrows of dreamland." Aurobindo Ghose's poetry belongs almost wholly to this period of his life—"the salad-days of youth, when we are green in judgment," as Shakespeare said. Therefore, it would be unfair to expect in it anything like completeness of sentiment, perfection of form, imaginative restraint and discipline. He is incomplete as a poet. A poet's work is dynamic in character, representing the steady development of a life-history. It is creative by a process of progressive self-criticism. Hence we expect in it a gradual evolution towards maturity and completion. In Aurobindo Ghose's work, we miss this process of evolution, and hence of completeness.

But in spite of these limitations, a perusal of his poetry will convince any one of the real poetical quality that he possesses, and the skill with which he is able to reveal in suggestive phrases, images, and ideas the secret mystery of things, for the interpretation of which we expect the help of a poet's superior vision. A picturesque image, such as is embodied in the lines—

When o'er the glimmering tree-tops bowed
The night is leaning on a beaming cloud;—

or a suggestive metaphor like this—

Her delicate face more beautiful than storm
Or rainy moon light;—

or the atmospheric magic of the following—

A golden evening, when the thoughtful sun
Rejects its usual pomp in going: trees
That bend down to their green companion
And fruitful mother, vaguely whispering;—

or the grim realism of the superb lines—

This gorge
Narrow and fell and gleaming like the throat
Of some huge tiger, with its rocky fangs
Agrin for food;—

—passages like these constantly arrest our attention "by their vital interpretative and illuminative power."

Of course most of his poems deal with nature and its effects on the human mind—subjects which have an eternal fascination for the youthful imagination. The beauty of these is not pictorial and transcriptive, but atmospheric and suggestive,—perhaps best summed up by M. Arnold's rather dubious phrase—"natural magic." It pervades the mind like a fragrance; it does not fascinate or intoxicate. This will be apparent from a passage like this—

In this garden's dim repose
Lighted with the burning rose,
Soft narcissis' golden camp
Glimmering or with rosier lamp
Censered honeysuckle guessed
By the fragrance of her breast,—
Here where summer's hands have crowned
Silence in the fields' of sound,
Here felicity should be.

More striking than these is the real mythopoeic faculty that is displayed in many of Aurobindo Ghose's poems. This is a power which modern poets are gradually losing in this ruthless age of science, but which was one of the great privileges not only of the poets of ancient Greece and India, but also of more recent poets like Keats and Shelley. The essence of this faculty is that synthetic imagination, which Coleridge regarded as the highest faculty of a poet. It is, therefore, a real pleasure to us to come across passages which reveal this rare power. Thus he describes love in the following way—

Love's feet were on the sea,
When he dawned on me.
His wings were purple-grained and slow;
His voice was very sweet and very low;
His rose-lit cheeks, his eyes' pale bloom
Were sorrow's ante-room;
His wings did cause melodious moan,
His mouth was like a rose o'er-blown;
The cypress garland of renown
Did make his shadowy crown.

Pregnant with suggestion as this picture is, and entirely original in conception, even more magnificent are the lines which describe resurgent Ireland—

Terrible and fair with the eternal ivy in her hair,
Armed with clamorous thunder, how she stands
Like Pallas' self the gorgon in her hands, etc.

But it is hardly possible to agree with Mr. Cousins when he says that Aurobindo Ghose's poetry is a "meeting place of Asiatic universalism and European classicalism." The fusion is neither so complete nor so harmoniously developed as to be accepted as a distinctive feature. There are, of course, reminiscences from Sanskrit, Greek, English, and the Bengalee Vaishnava poets, but the union of these elements has not been vitalised by the integrating logic of emotions. *Love and Death* is particularly noticeable in this respect. It is an Indian myth, written in the Elizabethan narrative style, with a suggestion of Swinburne's prolific melody, and invested with the sensuous atmosphere of *Joydeva's* great poem, combined with ideas which can be traced to Greek sources. Here for example, is a peculiarly Greek conception—

> O Father Sun!
> He cried, " how good it is to live, to love!
> Surely our joy shall never end, nor we
> Grow old, but like bright rivers or pure winds
> Sweetly continue or revive with flowers
> Or leaves, at least as long as senseless trees."

Just as these lines express the passionate love for life which characterised the Greeks, so in other passages we note their intense fear of death.

> I cannot bear to wander
> In that cold, cruel country all alone,
> Helpless and terrified, or sob by streams
> Denied sweet sunlight, or by thee unloved.

Likewise there are instances which are reminiscent of moods that are familiar to students of Indian poetry. Thus, Ruru, dreaming of his union with Priyamvada, says,

> She will turn from me with angry tears,
> Her delicate face more beautiful than storm
> Or rainy moonlight. I will follow her
> And soothe her heart with sovereign flatteries;
> Or rather all tyranny exhaust and taste
> The beauty of her anger like a fruit.

These lines represent a mood that is curiously Indian in conception, and that with the Vaishnava poets degenerated into a more or less distasteful mannerism. Particularly characteristic are the last two lines, of which the sentiment is unknown to the West, but which has been always favoured by Indian poets. Occasionally, he tumbles upon curious conceits that are repugnant to our modern disciplined reticence in art-expressions, but which are perfectly in harmony with the canons laid down by the Sanskrit rhetoricians. The italicised line in the following is a typical example,—

> What fires from the bud proceed
> *As if the vernal air did bleed.*

Of course such expressions are few and far between, and never seriously interfere with our enjoyment.

But if the final justification for the use of English language by a Bengalee poet be the ability with which he has been able to interpret Indian ideas and images for the English reader (as has been maintained by Mrs. E. Gosse in his introduction to Mrs. Naidu's *Bird of Time*), then Aurobindo Ghose will have justified himself. Although his early poems are full of English sights and sceneries, gradually his country found greater expression in his verse. For examples, we may refer to the song to the *coil* (*koel*), "honied envoy of the spring" in the] plaintive and sensuous style of Keats, and to our traditional idea, regarding the *chocrobaque*, to whom "dawn brings sweet recompense of tears." The few but exquisite lines to the "white-armed mother," Saraswati, the imitations of the poems of Chandidas with all the decorative conventions of the poetry of his school, the poems written in honour of Bankimchandra and Madhushudan, the deep spiritual wisdom of the Geeta embodied in many a poem in *Ahana*,—all mark him out distinctively as an Indian poet. Particularly noteworthy is the sincerity of tone that prevails in these poems—a thing which is absent in his exclusively English poems like the pastoral idyll, "*Love in Sorrow*" or the lines to Estelle. More characteristic are the two longer poems, "*Love and Death*"—a tale from Indian mythology, and "*Baji Probhou*," an episode from the meteoric career of the great Mahratta Shivaji. In both the background and the embroidery are distinctively Indian, and arouse in us all the beauty and the pathos of our "historic consciousness." For an example we may cite the splendid lines, with their superb imaginative daring—

> Last all Hutashana in his chariot armed
> Sprang on the boughs and blazed into the sky,
> And wailing all the great tormented creature
> Stood wide in agony ; one half was green
> And earthly ; the other a weird brilliance
> Filled with the speed and cry of endless flame.

The representation of *Kama* in *Love and Death*, in some respects rivalled by Rabindranath's conception in *Chitra*, is most exquisite.

> I am that Madan, who informs the stars
> With lustre and on life's wide canvas fill
> Pictures of light and shade, of joy and tears,
> Make ordinary moments wonderful
> And common speech a charm, etc.

The Miltonic use of sonorous names from Indian mythology, while appealing to our sentiments, reveals an ear that is delicately attuned to the music of words.

We have pointed out what we consider to be the defects of these poems ; but let us note that these are the defects of a youthful and luxurious imagination, not yet disciplined by experience, nor rationalised by a coherent philosophy of life, uncertain as to its possibilities, and therefore eager to utilise all that the mind has acquired with an indiscriminate profusion that we associate with unregulated strength. These would have gradually disappeared or have been subordinated to the severe requirements of a creative imagination trying to grapple with reality. We get glimpses of this possible consummation in many of the poems of *Ahana.* Such a passage as this—

> So boundless is the darkness, and so rife
> With thoughts of infinite reach that it creates
> A dangerous sense of space, and abrogates
> The wholesome littleness of life ;

or this from *Love and Death*,

> Men live like stars that see each other in heaven,
> But one knows not the pleasure and the grief
> The other feels ; he lonely rapture has
> Or bears his incommunicable pain ;"

or this—

> Therefore must time
> Still batter down the glory and form of youth,
> And animal magnificent strong ease,
> To warn the earthward man that he is spirit

> Dallying with transience, nor by death he ends,
> Nor to the dumb warm mother's arm is he bound
> But called unborn to the unborn skies ;

or this from *Baji Probhou*—

> Not in this living net
> Of flesh and nerve, nor in the flickering mind
> Is a man's manhood seated. God within
> Rules us, who in the Brahmin and the dog
> Can if He will show equal godhead. Not
> By men is mightiness achieved ; Baji
> Or Malsure is but a name, a robe
> And covers one alone.

—Such passages, we may observe might have been the precursors of a future that remained, to a large extent, unrealised. And not only in thought, in technique also, there is a great advance from the structural looseness of *Love and Death*, to the compact integrity of *Baji Probhou*, which may be illustrated as the difference between the unorganised Elizabethan narrative diction with the organic unity of Matthew Arnold's *Shorab and Rustum.* It is not likely that his countrymen will ever regret that the poet was lost in the patriot and the philosopher, but certainly we, lovers of literature, cannot help turning over these pages with a sigh as we see the many possibilities that were destined for ever, to remain undeveloped.

DHIRENDRANATH GHOSH

THE GREAT DROUGHT

[*A Dramatic Poem in Three Acts ; after a tale in the Mahabharat*].

Personae dramatis

King Lomapad
Santa—his daughter
Vibhandak—hermit
Rishya Sringa,—his son.
Varuna,—the God of Rain
Prime Minister
Aged Brahmin
Old man
A boy
Ladies to Santa
Men, women and children.

ACT I

[*Scene.*—Garden before King Lomapad's palace. The grass is withered and brown, trees bare. Enter a crowd of people—men, women and children. They look haggard and are in rags.]

An old man—

Ah woe is us; all sadly wander we,
Our homes deserted and our cattle dead
O'er the vast land famine and misery
Long has the peasant from the homestead fled ;
Oh Maharaja, see thy children stand
Helpless and starving at thy palace-gate
Thou art our Father : raise thy bounteous hand
And save us from this cruel, bitter Fate.
For three years has the country seen no rain
And the small streams have ceased to sing their song.
The oxen try to plough the land in vain,
Lowing their death-knell with dry and parched tongue
The last few cows still stand like skeleton
Searching for water neath the withered trees.
And they are dropping—dropping one by one
And see thy helpless people drop like these.

(*King Lomapad steps out of the palace, he looks sad, sighs and throws up his hands in despair. The people wail.*)

Old man—

There is the Raja, how dare we approach him
He is so mighty,—ah, my courage fails.

(*A little boy steps forward, goes up to the King and stands before him with joined palms, looking into his face.*)

Boy—

Father Maharaja, heed us,
Are you not your people's sire ?
Mother says she cannot feed us,
In the kitchen is no fire
And we left our home, all weeping,
E'en our little goat is dead
Father says,—no corn for reaping
Father-Raja, give us bread.

(*The King has meanwhile put his hand tenderly upon the child's head. His face bears the expression of pity and despair.*)

King Lomapad—

Ah children mine my heart in pity throbs.
How gladly would I not lay down my life
As sacrifice to save you ; for your sobs
Pierce my poor heart more deadly than a knife.
Go to my graneries, which are almost bare,
Just over yonder, but a step to go.
Take all you find, and let each have a share,
But on the morrow ?—Vishnu hear my woe.

(*They walk out, he looks after them and heaves a deep sigh.*)

King Lomapad (*alone*)—

And I am king of those afflicted folk
I am to answer for each sob and sigh
Mine is their hunger, mine their misery
Ah, what has brought upon my land this woe.
Am I the cause ? Have I myself commit
A sin of which I am still unaware ?
Or have my people from the lawful path
Strayed heedlessly and angered thus the gods ?
Whate'er it be, 'tis mine to answer still,
Must not a father for his children speak ?
They call me ' father, ' place their trust in me,
Turn their sad eyes on me in dumb despair
Would, I could die for them a hundred deaths.
Eternal Spirit, take my sacrifice.
Let my red blood appease the angered gods.
Vishnu, preserver, Thou who dost pervade
This universe with Thy abiding life,—
Save Thou my people, save—and let me die
Take thou this body, which I offer Thee.

(*He looks heavenward in expectation of a sign, then sighs.*)

I hear no voice ; I see no sign in answer.
Am I unworthy of the sacrifice ?

(*Meanwhile the Ministers of State and Brahmins have assembled within the palace. The walls divide and show the interior of the palace.*)

King Lomapad—

My greetings unto you, my trusted friends;
My heart is glad to see you here at last.

Prime Minister—

Hail Maharaj, we've followed thy command.
And searched the country for the wisest men.
And here thou seest them,—Brahmins all and versed
In all the Shastras of our ancient land

King Lomapad—

Welcome my friends ; but, woe, I'm all too sad
To do you justice as my honoured guests:
Yet are we met together here to-day
In common cause that does affect us all.
I need not tell you of our country's woe,
It is the remedy that we do seek.
Gladly I'd give my life, but that I see
No answer to the offer of my blood.

(*To the Brahmins*)

Therefore I turn to ye, Priests of the land—
So deeply learned in the Vedic lore,—
As last recourse. Speak, tell me of the way
In which I sinned and how I may atone.

Aged Brahmin—

I have received by meditation's aid
Some knowledge of the cause of this distress
But would it take some time to tell my tale.

King Lomapad—

Speak, reverend Sir, I am all ears to hear.

Aged Brahmin.—

There dwelleth in a cave in those deep woods
That cover a great part of this, thy land,
An aged hermit, Vibhandak by name.
He lived for many years a worldly life
Within this very city ; had his share

Of pleasures and of riches, such as men
Who live on earth, in due time all receive
And like all other men so one day he
Discovered that they all but were deceit
Riches deserted, pleasures followed them.
And men who had his mansion often sought
Grow few and fewer and soon disappeared.
This filled his heart with hate against his kind,
Therefore withdrew he to the forest-wilds.
His life since that day has been all austere
So strict indeed it was, that in the end
The gods were pleased and granted him a boon,
Offered a gift to him,—left him the choice,
And, lo, he chose the gift of power to curse.
And easily is he to anger roused,
His cave is shunned alike by men and beasts.
No huntsman and no anchorite goes near.
E'en the hyæna slinks and creeps away.
And this, oh Maharaja is the man,
Whom thou, quite thoughtlessly, once didst offend
By the sad non-fulfilment of a vow.

(*King sighs.*)

But fear not; thine too is the grace to save
There is one living with this evil man,
His only son, a youth of noble mind,
Whom,—motherless—he would not leave behind
His name is Rishya Sringa, and this fair youth
Has since his infancy lived in the wilds.
He has not seen a single human face
Save that which chills his young life in its bud.
This Rishya Sringa is now a grown-up youth,
And ne'r was son more unlike to a sire
Than this young man to that man-hater is
Whom he calls father, who ebbs dry his life.

Yet is he destined by the stars' decree
To be the doer of great noble deeds,
To be the father of a noble race.
And now, oh King, thou art the chosen one
To save this youth : the Powers will it so.
'Tis thou alone can take him by the hand
And win him back to warmth of human love.
Thou hast a daughter, a fair queenly maid,
Whose virgin heart is so all holy, pure,
That e'en the highest gods delight in her.
Give him the princess Santa as his wife
Then be the land from all distress relieved
And rain will fall in showers from the clouds.

King Lomapad—

But who will go to fetch the youth for me?

(*They look at one another in dismay.*)

Prime Minister—

Oh King—we ever yet obeyed thee,—but

(*The King looks at them in silence for a while, then closes his eyes and stands with clasped hands as if in prayer.*)

King Lomapad—

Friends listen, I have hit upon a plan
Or p'rhaps received it from some Power unseen.
This youth, we hear, has seen no human face
Save one, and that reflects a heart of hate
How would he feel, think ye, should he behold
A maiden's face, all fair with blushing youth?
Stronger than training is the feeling heart.
The May of life will recognise its own
And love will conquer all the viles of hate.

(*The faces of the assembly brighten, they look at one another, smile and nod assents.*)

King Lomapad—

Then go and take the broadest boat ye find,
Fill it with moss and ferns and flow'ring shrubs,
The last that this sad land still has to yield,
And make the boat appear so green and bright
That like a floating garden it would seem
Then shall the Princess and her winsome maids
Be placed on board, disguised as anchorites.
And shall the oarsman take them down the stream
Unto the place where the grim hermit lives.
But must they watch their opportunity
And see that the man-hater is away
Before they venture on their sacred quest
So far our task,—and leave the rest to youth.

Some of the Assembly—

Oh hail, our Maharaj, in wisdom great.

Others—

Our father thou and our unfailing guide.

ACT II

[*Scene,*—A forest dell before the hermit's cave. Vibhandak in conversation with Rishya Sringa.]

Vibhandak—

Son, I have kept thee in this loneliness
Nigh a score years now. In this silent place
Thou hast seen nature in all purity
Be grateful ever to me for this boon.
Thy comrades have been creatures forest-born
The jackal and the wolf thy brothers are,
And through the nights thou hearest the tiger growl
The gray owl hoot and the hyæna laugh.
Than these no better comrades couldst thou have
For, although danger in their path abide
They are less dangerous far than that vile breed
Called human kind,—the foulest race there is.
Believe me that the cobra's poison fang
Is far less harmful than man's artifice
The poison fang of human jealousy
Will gnaw the quiv'ring flesh from thy white bones.
The jungle safely keeps thee from thy kind
Nor easily will any one approach.
The power of my curse is too well known.
Still if there yet be those that know me not,
See to it that they enter not this dell.
Now I for my day's solitude depart.
I warn again—guard thee against thy kind.

Rishya Sringa—

I knew not that there were such as my kind,
I feel so lonely and my heart is sad.

Vibhandak (*in anger*)—

No prattling nonsense, thine but to obey.
Thou know'st my anger, rouse me not to curse.

(*He walks off hastily.*)

Rishya Sringa (*alone*)—

Oh Brahma, Creator Thou of all that is,
Why didst Thou mould me, give me of Thy Breath
If thus in loneliness my days must pass,
Where not a sound of human sympathy
Of human sigh or laugh can reach my ear,
The wild thyme grows along the river bank
And sends its fragrance to the eglantine
The jasmine and the violet ope their hearts
In converse with the early morning sun,
The wood-dove in the gloaming calls its mate.
The eagle on the peaks finds brotherhood.
The stars play on the river's lisping waves
And call the lotus to reveal herself.
Here oft I come by stealth at midnight hour,
And bare my heart and call out for response
From all the wild things nature does produce.
But deep within the mirror of my soul
I see that I belong to other kind.
The echo of my song falls back on me,
The trembling note that wanders from the lyre
Still seeks the chord on which to vibrate back.
My heart is starving for its better self;
Oh Brahma, grant me my own or let me die.

(*He starts suddenly and listens. From afar comes the song of the maidens, the boat being not as yet visible.*)

Song.

Float, float
Down the merry stream

Where the willows sway
Float, float
With the sun's bright beam
Where the wild birds stray.
Bringing joy when May is young.
Merrily we float along
On the river of our song
All the merry day.
Float, float on a golden song
All the merry day.

(*The boat has meanwhile appeared. The maidens are dressed in flowing yellow robes. They continue to sing.*)

Dip, dip
Let our vessel glide
Swaying to and fro.
Dip, dip
Silver if the tide
Where the lilies blow.
Happy are our lives and free,
Merry anchorites are we.
List the oars' sweet melody
Where the lilies grow.
Dip, dip, list the melody
Where the lilies grow.

(*The maidens leave the boat while singing and walk about.*)

Sway, sway
Emerald forest trees
In this fairy grove.
Sway sway
Where the golden bees
Fill their treasure trove.
Happy is life's budding spring
Let us fragrant garlands bring
While our joyful lay we sing
To the god of love
Sway, sway, while we gaily sing
To the god of love.

(Rishya Sringa sits on a boulder and looks on happy and amused.)

Santa (going towards him singing)—

Who is there all lonely sitting
While the merry birds are flitting
Chirping amid throbbing leaves.

Rishya Sringa (sings)—

What matters it who I may be?
But who these fairies come to me
With laughter and sweet melody?

Santa (sings)—

Oh, beware, we may be thieves.

Rishya Sringa (sings)—

Welcome here, who'er you are
Let me not your pleasure mar,
Never has my guiding star
Granted me such company.
My companions bat and owl,
All my song the she-wolf's howl
Or the tiger's deadly growl.
Or the jackal's yell,
Newt and serpent—

Maidens (sing)—

Shame, oh shame!
Prythee, none too soon we came
To break this dread spell
Come and take spring's golden chance,
Join our merry song and dance
In this sylvan dell.

Rishya Sringa (sings)—

Merry is your golden lay
Never yet did I obey
Happier behest.
But before I join your ring
Grant that I fresh garlands bring
For each charming guest.

(He goes out.)

Maidens (sing)—

The golden ray
Of sylvan May
Is resting on this bow'r.
Oh, swaying trees,
Oh, forest breeze,
Oh, golden summer hours.

(While still they sang Rishya Sringa returned with a large garland. The maidens take hold of it.)

Rishya Sringa (aside sings)—

But fair it be
No more to me.
My heart will pine away.
To part and meet,—
Oh, bitter-sweet,
Oh sad and happy day.

Maidens (sing)—

This is the day we shall never forget,
Garlands of roses and mignonet
Garlands of violet and rosemary,
All so joyful and happy are we.

Rishya Sringa (sings)—

Garland of roses and myrtle and thyme
Oh, all too soon is fleeting the time.
Garland of violet and mignonet
Sad are the days that await me yet.

(He sits down and sighs, resting his head on his hand.)

Santa (sings)—

Why be so sad on this bright, sunny day?

Rishya Sringa (sings)—

Oh, all too soon will it pass away.
Leave me again as lone as of old,
Thus shall I live till my heart grows cold.

Maidens (sing)—

Save yourself from crusted age,
Come unto our hermitage,
Where the sunlight showers
Love-rays on the crystal wave,
Leave this crumbling mountain cave
And thy burning spirit lave
Mid spring's budding flowers.

Rishya Sringa (sings)—

Aye, that is a happy thought.

Maidens (sing)—

Let it not pass all for nought
Turn the thought to action.

Rishya Sringa (sings)—

All too gladly shall I go.

Maidens (sing)—

Come, the rippling wavelets flow,
And into the water throw
All thy disaffection.

(They walk towards the boat while singing, Santa and Rishya Sringa being last. Enter Vibhandak.)

Vibhandak—

Aye there behold a true obedient son!
I see thy father's orders well obeyed,

(*Rishya Sringa shrinks and steps back, but Santa looks at him in fearless innocence. Vibhandak looks at her with scrutiny for a while.*)

Vibhandak—

Who art thou child, clad in ascetic garb?
Wilt to the forest-loneliness retire?
I see thy mind all pure and were thy heart
Full ready for the hermit's chosen life.

Santa—

Nay, Father, nay, I'm but a simple maid,
And sent into this grove for noble cause.

Vibhandak (*kindly*)—

Thy virgin purity is great indeed,
Thou art incarnate from those holy fields
Where *devis* dwell in stainless sanctity
Come, tell me frankly what thy purpose is,
And, if my powers permit, I'll gladly aid.

Santa—

Most reverent Father, our sad land lies low,
The drought is scorching the dry fields to stone,
The famine is so great, that one by one
Our faithful people drop down by the road,
Therefore, my sire, the good King Lomapad,
Sent me unto this sylvan grove, for here,
The holy Brahmins tell us lies the cure.

Vibhandak (*stern and frowning*)—

Thou hast come here to steal my son away,
And hast thou heard that Vibhandak can curse?

Santa—

Pray, holy Father let me pay the price
What'er it be; but save the sighing land,
Is curse the cause, let it fall on my head;
Mine be the blast, but let the land have rain.

Vibhandak (*rubbing his eyes*)—

Aye—yes—I now see the whole scene revealed
Of all the men in thy sire's boasted Court
There was not one who boldly dared to face
The grim old hermit who has power to curse,
Because their own black sins produced that power.
But in thy golden heart, oh virgin maid
Melt all the curses and the will to curse
At thy fair feet I lay this burden down.

(*He places his hand on her head.*)

And on thy glorious head my blessings are.
Thou hast transformed my pow'rs and from this day
My thoughts shall weave but blessings born of love.
One woman's holiness could break the spell
That hosts of warrior men dared not to face.
And thou, my son, unto this holy maid
I give thee and my blessing unto both.
I would not lightly give thee to the world,
But in my heart I vowed, if e'er there came
One who could me from this black power redeem
To such a one would I my son resign.
That one has come, return now unto men,
Fulfil thy manly mission, and that done,
The silence will again ope up her caves
Once more to claim thee,—thee and her who now
Is joined to thee as thy own better self.

(He holds his hands in blessing over them while they kneel down before him.)

My blessing follow you and now—farewell.

(He walks off abruptly. Santa and Rishya Sringa go to the boat where the maidens are standing in a semi-circle. They take their stand in the centre. The stage becomes flooded with a rose-light.)

Rishya Sringa (sings)—

And now behold love's tender token ;
Then play ye love-rays on this grove,
The evil spell at last is broken,
It melted in the sun of love.

Maidens (sing)—

Then float away to happy places
More fair than any thou hast known,
Where amid love and youthful faces
Thy longing heart shall find its own.

All (sing)—

Ye silver waves, bear us away
To life and love, oh happy day.
Ye silver waves, bear us away
To life and love, oh happy, happy day.

(While the last four lines are being sung, the boat moves off and the last strains die away in the distance.)

Act III

[*Scene.*—The king's palace. King Lomapad, Prime Minister, Aged Brahmin].

King Lomapad—

My heart is anxious, where now are the children ?
Did I do right to send them on this quest ?
The hermit is as wise as he is wicked
Might he not o'er the distance send his curse
Or trace their path and find them where they are ?

Aged Brahmin—

Fear not, Oh King, pure virtue will prevail
Earth's greatest treasure is a woman's heart.
When that is holy as thy daughter's is,
The powers of evil cannot stand the sight,
But shrink and run, or melt away in death.

(*From afar comes the sound of song and the boat approaches.*)

Song.

Lo, the black spell at last is broken,
It melted in love's holy pow'r.
No more are evil curses spoken,
The clouds will yield,—oh happy hour !

(*Santa and Rishya Sringa step out, the maidens following.*)

King Lomapad—

Welcome my children, welcome thousand times
My heart and home receive you all with joy.
Full glad I am to see you here again,
And happy signs I see upon the sky ;

Already clouds are gathering in the blue,
And soon their longed for burden will descend.
The curse now broken, all our hearts rejoice.

(*He leads them to the seat of honour, the maidens group themselves on either side.*)

And you shall be the happiest of all
My daughter, thou, and thou, my chosen son.
This day we will perform the bridal rites,
The conch shall sound and priest the *mantras* chant.
Gaily the hours will pass while the soft rain
Fall down upon the forests and the fields.

(*Enter boys with baskets of fruit and small sheaves. They are glistening with water drops. They sing and dance.*)

Song.

Lo, the rain descends in showers
Over the thirsting country all,
Young again are trees and flowers.

(*They shake the sheaves and fruit-baskets and rain-drops fall from them.*)

Behold the raindrops ;—how they fall.
The cows and deer have come to drink
By the reviving streamlet's brink,
Bright, silver pearls fall from the sky
No more the soil is hard and dry.
And ev'ry meadow, ev'ry field
Will soon its grateful harvest yield
And we will sow the golden grain,
Oh happy, happy, happy rain !

(Enter flower fairies, they wear wreaths and carry garlands and baskets. They sing and dance.)

Song.

We are the fays of the wild roses
Godmothers to the butterflies.
We watch the daisy when she closes
Her eye unto our lullabies.
The violet and the rosemary,—
All wild flowers are our children wee
But long we wept to hear them sigh
Helplessly 'neath the burning sky.

(They shake rain-drops from their garlands.)

But now our hearts are glad again
Oh happy, happy, happy rain.

(While singing the last two lines the boys join the song and dance. Enter cloud-fairies. They are dressed in rainbow colours. They sing.)

Song.

We came from Cloudland's fair dominions
For the first time since many a day,
For years we dared not stretch our pinions,—
No rainbow hue to light the way,
To guide us downward through the air
And oh, how very sad we were.

(A rainbow is thrown on the stage.)

But now behold those colours bright,
Which are all creatures' heart's delight,
Both sky and earth will laugh again
Oh happy, happy, happy rain.

(During the last two lines the boys and flower-fairies join as before. Enter Varuna, the Raingod.)

King Lomapad—

We greet thee, Lord Varuna, King of Clouds
And thank thee for the mercies granted us.

Varuna—

And I greet thee and all these merry folk,
Right glad to see such goodly company.
This is indeed a happy bridal feast
Curse-laden years at last have passed away
The land is bless'd ; virtue has wrought the change
Oft tried I hard to bring my fleecy flock
But o'er this land no power could drive them on
A burning wind withstood my efforts all.
The curse lay on the fields, helpless stood I.
And oh, the sigh from the hot, thirsting soil
Cuts deeper than the swordsman's two-edged blade
The dull ear of the mortal hears it not.
But he who hears, would give his very life,
His heart-blood all to still that doleful cry.
But now that all rejoice and hearts are glad,
Remember through the years that are to come
The one good thing that this great Drought has taught,—
'Vices are their own curse ; virtue redeems.'
And I must go, my duty calls me on.
All force needs guidance, streams must be well led.

King Lomapad—

May we not ask thee to stay as our guest ?

Varuna—

I always am thy guest in streams and brooks,
In summer show'rs and cloudbursts, find me there.

King Lomapad—

Then sing we hail to thee, Lord of the Clouds

Varuna—

And hail to her who broke the evil spell.

(*The maidens and fairies sing.*)

Song.

I

When rivers sigh
And roses die,
And all man's efforts fail,
A virgin heart
Of simple art
In virtue will prevail.

II

When for all vice
No sacrifice
No altars can atone,
One pure heart still
In virtue will
Draw water from a stone.

III

Then let us bring
Love's offering
Oh, holy maid to thee
Whose stainless pow'r
In darkest hour
Led us to victory.

A. CHRISTINA ALBERS.

THE PASSING OF THE MASTER

There was only a fading echo of winter in the air.
The days lengthened as you looked on.
The trees whispered a tremulous green.
The koël piped a welcome to peeping Spring.
The river expiated its muddy sin.
The frown on the cloud's face was changed to smile.
The Earth opened her sleep-refreshed eyes
To the quickening light of the Sun.
It was the fourth of February 1909.
The moon was at her full.
But ere she had thrown her protecting shield
Over a day-wearied world
Or the westering Sun had disappeared
Behind a maze of colours
A man died. A man known but to few
And loved by fewer still.
But he loved all.
Those that loved him found not the ends of his love.
The love with which he loved them made them doubt their own.
The rest passed it by.
The rest left unloved the love that was he.
Love is rare.
Love is not known when seen.
He died amidst mean surroundings.
But the treasures of his soul transcended price.

There, where the tram cars discharge their pious load
Of pilgrims to Kali's shrine,
A road bends eastward.
It lies like an ensanguined scimitar,
Between neglected garden lands, leaf-thatched huts,
Green-scummed, evil-smelling tanks
And low, one-storey brick structures
Which shrink with shame from their surroundings.
On loop of this road lies a patch of ground,
Fenced round with split bamboos and hedge-plants, green and quick.
Garden trees cast mild, miniature suns
Over a humble hut by the side of a little tank.
Into the tank descends a flight of masonry steps.
In this the Master lay
Weak as a child, pure as the smokeless flame,
Peaceful as the moon's beam, steadfast as the noon-day sun.
Tended by the gentle care of disciples,
Obscure and of no account amongst men,
The Master's last breath went forth
Like a blessing through space.
The sun sucks up vapour from the sea to pour it out in rain.
The soul of the righteous man goes back to its Father
To be poured out as love, wisdom and peace.
Borne on the shoulders of those
He had begotten in the light that is God,
The man that perishes, that loses form and name,
Was placed beside flowing water
And there reverently delivered to Fire

That renders pure all it touches
And sanctifies man's heart as a great love.
A human frame lost a life which was gained
By all who loved the soul,
Radiating as wisdom, beneficence and love.
The disciples, tear in eye and peace at heart
Purified by the example of love and wisdom in life and
in death
Averted their faces from the burning fire and departed
Into a world, dark with unwisdom and unlove.
May they keep the torch burning and hand it down,
Undimmed, through the time to come!

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

A NOTABLE TRIAL

[The trial of Barendra Kumar Ghosh in connection with the murder of Amrita Lal Roy, Post Master of the Sankaritolla Post Office, Calcutta, has attracted widespread attention. We have received from a valued contributor a review of the various questions, juristic and sociological, which naturally suggest themselves in connection with this incident. We had intended to place it before our readers in this issue. But as the High Court has granted leave to the prisoner to appeal to His Majesty in Council the matter has again become *sub judice*. We consequently content ourselves with a reproduction of the incisive comments made by the "Ditcher" in the *Capital* on the 4th October, 1923, and on the 11th October, 1923, before leave was granted—Ed. C. R.]

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been a Judge of the Calcutta High Court for nearly twenty years, and in that time has delivered many a judgment of rare interest and value to a much wider circle than the legal fraternity in search of modern instances to fortify their case law ; but no previous deliverance has surpassed the human document in which he gave reasons for rejecting an application to review the case of the Sankaritolla murderer sentenced to death by Judge Page on the unanimous verdict of "guilty" by a special jury. The opportunity to display his vast legal knowledge, his independence of character, and his stern sense of propriety was exceptional, and he rose to it with all the ardour and glow of animation of a great actor about to leave a stage which his genius had long adorned.

* * * *

In the life of the present generation of Ditchers the Calcutta High Court has not provided so fascinating a drama of forensic irregularity than the attempt of Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, Barrister-at-law, to save from the gallows one Barendra Kumar Ghosh, who in company with two other desperadoes of the *badrolog* class raided the Sankaritolla Post Office in Calcutta on the afternoon of 3rd August, and shot dead the postmaster, Amrita Lal Roy, who defended the money they would seize. Two of the armed robbers escaped. Barendra was caught and hauled before the Chief Presidency Magistrate who committed him for trial at the Criminal Sessions of the Calcutta High Court for murder and attempted murder. The accused was respectably connected and enough money was forthcoming to pay for his defence for which his solicitors, K. K. Dutta & Co. briefed Messrs. B. C. Chatterjee, S. K. Sen, and N. R. Dasgupta. They found the case one of great difficulty, so the two Seniors took the extraordinary step of visiting in his chambers the trial judge, Mr. Arthur Page, the latest addition from England to the Calcutta Bench, to bargain for the life of their client by offering to plead guilty on the minor count if the capital charge were withdrawn. Judge Page instead of unceremoniously turning them out of the room, and reporting their conduct to the Chief Justice for disciplinary action, merely rejected the bargain, nor did he relate the incident to the jury. He was to be punished badly for his easy toleration.

* * * *

Barendra Kumar Ghosh was tried, convicted of murder, and sentenced to death. Mr. B. C. Chatterjee immediately moved the Advocate General, Mr. S. R. Das, for a certificate under Clause 26 of the Letters Patent for a review on the score of misdirection of the jury by the trial judge. For some unaccountable reason Mr. Das, who seems to be as unfortunate as his two immediate predecessors, granted the certificate on the ex-parte pleading of the defence without calling upon the Counsel for the Crown to state any objection he might have to the procedure proposed. Thereupon the Chief Justice was rushed into constituting a bench of five judges, namely, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Sir Thomas Richardson, Mr. C. C. Ghose, Mr. A. H. Cuming and Mr. Arthur Page to hear the application. It is a pity Sir Lancelot Sanderson left for England for his annual holiday before Mr. B. L. Mitter, the

Standing Counsel, let the cat out of the bag, while Mr. B. C. Chatterjee vainly tried to seize it by the tail. I feel certain he would have been wonderfully edified.

* * * *

In his judgment Sir Asutosh Mookerjee did not spare the Advocate-General, who, to use a colloquial phrase, asked for it. His Lordship said :—

> In the case before us, no certificate of any description was attached to the application made to the Advocate-General. The result was that the Advocate-General formed his judgment upon materials, the accuracy whereof was not certified. Counsel for the accused was heard by him, and a draft of a certificate was then prepared ; this incorporated only some of the allegations contained in the unverified petition. In my view, the certificate of the Advocate-General which reflects his judgment and is naturally entitled to respect, should be granted after he has heard representatives of the prisoners and of the Crown, and has carefully considered all the available materials whose accuracy had been verified by Counsel or other responsible persons. If this course had been pursued in the present case before the certificate was granted, there would have been no occasion for an unseemly dispute as to the weight to be attached to the certificate.

So much for the Advocate-General.

* * * *

His Lordship was naturally more severe on Mr. B. C. Chatterjee whose version of the extraordinary interview with Mr. Justice Page he rejected as not "correct in all particulars," the only euphemism I can find in the whole judgment. Sir Asutosh said :—

> "The object of Counsel, who sought, and secured, the interview with the trial judge must have been to bargain with him as to the sentence in respect of the charge under Section 302, if the prisoner should plead guilty to that count. The gravity of their misconduct cannot, in my judgment, be exaggerated. But for what has actually happened, I would have considered it inconceivable that Counsel, who have been engaged to defend a prisoner charged with murder, should proceed to intimate to the trial judge that in their opinion, there was no defence to the charge

or, as they euphemistically express it, that their case was "difficult," and should then endeavour to persuade the judge before he has heard the evidence, to a particular sentence if the accused should plead guilty. It would be wrong for me to conceal that my surprise is intensified when I find that the trial judge who has thus been approached and placed in possession of the view taken of the case by Counsel for the defence, advises them how the defence should be conducted."

Sir Asutosh took the commonsense view that Judge Page should have turned Mr. Chatterjee and his friends out of the room, reported them to the Chief Justice, and asked to be relieved of the trial of the case. This would have been the action of any judge at home.

* * *

In this connection Sir Asutosh cites the celebrated trial of the Swiss valet, Courvoisier, for the murder of Lord William Russell before Tindall, C. J., in 1840. Charles Phillips, counsel for the accused, wished to abandon the case when a special piece of evidence so incriminated the prisoner that he confessed his guilt, but Phillips was urged to consult Baron Parke, who gave it as his opinion that if the accused insisted on Phillips defending him, Phillips was bound to use all fair arguments arising on the evidence. "The special features," said Sir Asutosh, "which distinguish the case of Courvoisier from that now before the Court may be indicated here : (1) the incident there took place while the trial was in progress ; (2) Counsel took action upon confession of guilt by the prisoner himself ; (3) Counsel asked for advice from a Judge who was not trying the case ; (4) the judge so approached did not mention the matter to the Chief Justice who would have to sum up and to pass sentence in the event of conviction ; and (5) Counsel asked advice upon a matter of professional etiquette only, and did not attempt to make a bargain with the judge upon the question of evidence." His Lordship further remarked that the view taken by Baron Parke upon the question of the duty of counsel for a prisoner when the latter has, in the midst of the trial, confessed his guilt is in substantial agreement with what was adopted by the General Council of the Bar in 1915. It was also the view held by Erskine. Then there is the celebrated *obiter dictum* of Baron Bramwell: "A man's rights are to be determined by the court, not by his attorney or counsel. A client is entitled to say to his counsel, 'I want your advocacy not your judgment, I prefer that of the court.' "

* * *

From the point of view of the legal practitioner and the student of law, the most important part of the judgment is that in which Sir Asutosh discusses the vast divergence of judicial opinion on the correct interpretation of the scope and effect of Section 34 of the Indian Penal Code which is expressed in the following terms:

> "When a criminal act is done by several persons, *in furtherance of the common intention of all*, each of such persons is liable for that act in the same manner as if it were done by him alone."

In the case of Emperor *vs.* Nirmalkanta Roy tried in the Calcutta High Court, Mr. Justice Stephen held that where two persons, in furtherance of a common intention of both, fire at another, and one only actually hits and kills him, the other is guilty, not of murder but of attempt to murder, and it was on this dictum that Mr. B. C. Chatterjee accused Judge Page of misdirection of the jury. Sir Asutosh holds a contrary view and argues it with ability and scrupulous care to state both sides of the question. His argument absorbed me and I am sorry that the exigency of space does not permit a summary.

* * *

The last portion of Sir Asutosh's judgment deals with the blundering of the counsel for the defence which robbed the accused of his only chance of a retrial. The cross-examination of the witnesses for the Crown was perfunctory and the defence of the accused became intelligible only when he made his statement, namely, the threefold assertion that he was in the courtyard when the fatal shot was fired, that he was not one of those who fired at the postmaster, and that he did not share the intention of his confederates to commit a murder. "The vital truth of the matter," said His Lordship, "is not that the summing up was inadequate, judged in the light of what had been elicited in the cross-examination of the prosecution witnesses, but that proper foundation for the defence theory had not been laid in evidence." In the circumstances could the accused be said to have had a fair trial? If the law permitted a retrial, Sir Asutosh would probably have ordered it, for in no other way could the grave defect in the conduct of the defence be remedied. A careful consideration of the Letters Patent and an exhaustive study of the authorities and the case law bearing on the subject led him to decide that the law did not permit it. In his opinion there was no escape from the conclusion that as neither of the two points of law specifically certified by the Advocate-General could be answered in favour of the accused, his application for review must be dismissed so far as the exercise of the powers conferred on the Court by Clause 26 of the Letters Patent was concerned.

* * *

It was inevitable that a judgment so outspoken should cause painful heart-burnings in many individuals. The Counsel for the defence, the Advocate-General, and the trial Judge could not be expected to smile, and look happy when listening to the bold strictures on their sins of omission and commission; but what has amused me and given me furiously to think is the indignation of the young lions of the Bar that Sir Asutosh did not order a retrial, law or no law. For some reason I am unable to understand, a large section of the *bhadrolog*, including the young lions aforesaid, is making a national hero of Barendra Kumar Ghose, a sort of Robert Emmet. His youth, the fact that he was only recently married, and his respectable connection are vamped to produce an artificial sympathy. It galls them, therefore, that the one loop-hole of a possible escape from the gallows should be deliberately closed by the very person who discovered it. I have heard it stated in all seriousness that Sir Asutosh would have ordered a retrial, but he was afraid that not a single one of his colleagues would agree with him. Anybody who reads the judgment with intelligence, without passion or prejudices, will soon realise how monstrously unfair is this unworthy insinuation. The judgment is a monument of clear thinking, judicial impartiality and courageous candour. It is a haloed epitome of the judicial achievements of twenty years. *Opus opificem probat.*

* * * *

During the whole of the present year of grace Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has given astonishing proofs of his mental vigour, his joy of battle, and his exceptional equipment. It is good to learn, therefore, that his impending resignation of the High Court Bench does not imply a comparative retirement from public affairs in order to devote the green autumn of his life solely to the affairs of the Calcutta University. I believe he intends to become a candidate for election to the Indian Legislative Assembly, and I have no fear that he will fail to obtain a seat. His personality will transfigure the representation of Bengal which has hitherto been mediocre to the verge of tears. His eloquence, his grasp of the problems of the day, and his unyielding independence will take him at one bound into the forefront of men who are shaping the destinies of India. I am sanguine that his entry into the Assembly will mark a new epoch in Indian politics in which he will be a driving force of high pressure.

* * * *

It is rumoured that when Sir Asutosh Mookerjee leaves the Calcutta High Court Mr. S. R. Das will be elevated to the

Bench, and Mr, Langford James made Advocate-General. I am inclined to think this gossip emanates from people who would like to see the present Advocate-General removed from politics. It is the fashion at the *pan-supari* conversaziones of non-co-operators and nationalists to sneer at Mr. S. R. Das and his constitutionalists, but the sneer hides a very real fear that he will be able to capture the solid conservatism of the landed aristocracy and the professional classes will place him in a very strong position given an entente with the officials and Europeans. I do not think Mr. Das has any present ambition to snooze on the Bench; he is much more eager to show his erring brother that he has chosen the better part. I hear it is possible that Sir Asutosh's successor will be Mr. Manmathanath Mookerjee, one of the ablest of the Vakeels. This is more credible than the other rumour.

* * * *

After all Sir Asutosh Mookerjee will not step down from the High Court Bench before he has completed the conventional span of twenty years, which will not be until June next year: he is, therefore, not a candidate for election to the Indian Legislative Assembly. This will rob the Calcutta representation of the power and prestige I conjured up last week "to play in the eye" as the saying goes, and to hearten us with the hope that Calcutta would cease to play second fiddle to Bombay in the Imperial parliament. I have just seen the Bengal nominations for the I. L. A. and a poorer show of dull mediocrity it would be impossible to conceive. "And she named the child Ichabod, saying, The glory is departed from Israel."

* * * *

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's judgment in the Sankaritolla murder case invited an application for leave to appeal to the Privy Council on behalf of the condemned man. This invitation was promptly accepted by the relatives and friends of Barendra Kumar Ghose, who appear to be plentifully supplied with the sinews of litigation. An appeal was made under Clause 41 of the Letters Patent to Judges Mookerjee and Chatterjee, and as was inevitable it was granted. Their Lordships' final direction is as follows:—

> We finally direct under Clause 42 that a complete copy of the record be transmitted for the use of their lordships of the Judicial Committee. This will be prepared, as is usual in capital cases, at the cost of the Crown, and will include (1) the record of the proceedings before the committing Magistrate; (2) the record of the proceedings at the sessions; an accurate copy must be obtained of the notes of the trial judge; (3) the record of the proceedings under Clause 26 of the Letters Patent; (4) the record of the present proceedings under Clause 41 of the Letters Patent.
>
> We further direct that the memorandum furnished by Mr. Justice Page to the members of the Full Bench (from which an extract was read out in open court) be printed in its entirety as a confidential document and be transmitted in a sealed cover to be placed before their lordships for such use as their lordships may determine. We consider it essential that all the materials available to this court should be placed at the disposal of their lordships.

* * * *

The judgment of the Privy Council will be awaited with interest as so many important side issues are involved. In the meanwhile Barendra will wax fat on jail fare and amuse himself by giving away his associates in the ghastly conspiracy to free Bengal from British fetters by robbing and killing their own inoffensive countrymen. He will probably cheat the rope in the end.

POST GRADUATE STUDIES[1]

In the last few years Calcutta University has pressed incessantly into view with the petulant controversy between the Senate and the Government over ordinary matters of details and important questions of principle and policy. Critics have been divided sharply into two groups, one condemning the Government as vehemently as the other upholding it. In the heat and turmoil of the conflict people have in a wicked exchange of personalities forgotten what are essentially the main issues. What is it in the activities of the University that has been the object of all criticisms? What is it that has become, practically so to speak, the obsession of the intelligentia? The answer is not far to seek. It is what is known as the Post-Graduate Studies. It will be my endeavour to place before your readers a short account of what the scheme is; of the persons who run it; of the improvement it has effected in the old system of higher education; of the ideal that underlies it.

* * *

I do not propose to tire your readers with an antiquarian dry-as-dust chronicle. It is enough for my purpose to state that the system came into operation in 1917, not as the whimsical product of some hair-brained crank, but as the inevitable result of the acceptance by the Government of India of the recommendations of a Committee appointed by them to devise means for the consolidation of Post-Graduate work in the University. The net result of the introduction of the scheme was that Post-Graduate teaching became centralised under the æges of the University, and the privilege previously granted, under certain conditions, to all colleges in Calcutta to impart Post-Graduate teaching was withdrawn. There were more than

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[1] Reprinted from, *Capital*, August 2, 1923.

1,500 students reading at the time for the M.A. and M.Sc. degrees in Calcutta and under the new dispensation they could no longer remain scattered here and there but had to take shelter under the protecting wings of the University.

* * *

What are the features of the system? Two Councils have been established, one for Arts, the other for Science. Each and every teacher of the University is an *ex-officio* member of either Council. The teachers of a particular department form themselves into a Board, and there are thus as many Boards as there are subjects of study. Each Board is, in fact, responsible for a particular department; it elects annually two members from amongst the teachers, and these help to constitute an Executive Committee and which is left in charge of administrative duties. The Council elects its own President who is Chairman of the Executive Committee. It has a whole-time Secretary, himself a distinguished scholar, who carries on the functions of the Principal on behalf of the Executive Committee. The proceedings of the Council are always subject to confirmation by the Senate which is the body corporate of the University, and a fixed number of representatives of which are annually elected to the Council and the Executive Committee.

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This in nut-shell is the organisation of the Post-Graduate department. Its outstanding distinction is the predominance of teachers on the respective bodies, all of whom ; young or old, senior or junior, occupy recognised positions and have opportunities of meeting one another on a common platform. They administer their affairs themselves and they reign more or less supreme in their own microcosm. The University maintains a large number of whole-time teachers, and has in addition invited distinguished Professors from local institutions to participate in Post-Graduate work as part-time teachers of the University. Thus all the available talents have been brought together and all students uniformly benefit by their teaching and guidance.

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Thanks to the far-sighted policy of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, *deus ex machina*, the professoriate is not confined to Bengalees alone but scholars have been welcomed from every part of India without prejudice of race, caste or creed. The result of this broad tolerance, worthy of Charlemagne, has been the slow but sure foundation of a systematic School of Indian Vernaculars. Thus, the University possesses a Maharatta Professor of Ancient Indian History, a Parsee Professor of Comparative Philology, a Tamil Professor of Anthropology, a Sinhalese monk who teaches Pali; each of them has assisted in organising and developing a Department of Indian Vernaculars, the like of which does not exist in any other Indian University. It reminds us of the main characteristic of the Post-Graduate system, namely, the homage it fittingly pays to the traditional civilisation and culture of India. The present system of education, however sincere and well-intentioned may have been its authors and administrators, has been followed by an almost scrupulous disregard of every distinctive national feeling and characteristic; under the Post-Graduate system an earnest effort is being made to appreciate and investigate the manifestations of the Indian genius in all its manifold aspects, to nationalise the University and the outlook of its workers. For this reason the Bengalee scholar turns with not a little pride to the Department of History. Elaborate arrangements have been made for the study of Ancient Indian History and Culture in all their various phases, such as in Indian Fine Arts, Indian Epigraphy, Indian Architecture, Indian Administration, Indian Religions, Indian Astronomy and so on. The importance of the study of the history of the Bengalees, of the Maharattas, of the Rajputs, of the Sikhs, has been recognised. The subjects have been taken charge of by brilliant Bengalee scholars who have been afforded proper facilities for acquiring adequate knowledge of the language of the people whose history they have to teach. Similarly, the scholar looks with equal pride at the Departments of Pali, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Indian Philosophy and last, but not the least, Tibetan, which is in charge of a Tibetan Lama, a scholar of repute.

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The spectacle which the University professoriate presents to-day is grand in conception, for it bears convincing testimony to the practicability of the ideal that a temple of learning acknowledges no barrier of caste or creed or colour. Let a stranger walk into the Senate Hall where the Council meets and deliberates, and he will find himself face to face with representatives of different nationalities—English, Scotch, Chinese, Japanese, Austrian, German, Maharatta, Oriya, Assamese, Madrasi, Parsee, Sinhalese, Tibetan and Bengalee—all remarkable and distinct in their outward features and habits, but all united by the bonds of amity and harmony on their way to a common goal—the advancement of Learning.

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Let it not be understood for a moment that the University has made arrangements for the study of subjects which are peculiarly Indian at the cost of other subjects appertaining to a general culture so essential to a liberal education. On the contrary, besides the usual Departments of English, Philosophy, Economics, and Mathematics, the last three years have witnessed the birth and growth of schools of Experimental Psychology, Comparative Philology and Anthropology whose relations to Indian conditions have not been ignored.

* * *

Thanks to the unparalleled liberality of Sir Taraknath Palit, Sir Rash Behari Ghosh and the Kumar of Khaira, the Science Department has made remarkable progress during the last ten years. Sir P. C. Roy, that saint among scientists, is himself in charge of the Department of Chemistry, and his tenacious adherence to national habits and ideals has had a peculiar influence on the tone of the college itself. The Professors of the Science College are all, save one, Indians. Most of them have been chosen from amongst the distinguished graduates of Calcutta University. All of them have visited Europe at the expense of the University and received training in their special subjects under eminent Professors and Men of Science. This system has worked exceedingly well in both the Arts and Science Departments, for it has helped to give the fullest scope to gifted young men for the proper utilisation of their powers and attainments. This is where Sir Asutosh Mookerjee totally differs from the doctrine of separation preached by the non-co-operators. He cannot allow the West to predominate, much less destroy, the inherent culture and traditions of the East; but, at the same time, he has all along considered it a suicidal policy to shut the Western Gate of Knowledge and prevent wholesome light coming out of it.

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The Science College laboratory has sent out to the world a galaxy of brilliant Bengalee scholars of whom any University might justly feel proud. To take a few at random, Dr. Meghnad Saha, Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra, Dr. J. N. Mookeerjee, Dr. Snehamoy Dutt, and Dr. Nikhilranjan Sen. Then that sturdy and enthusiastic Professor of Physics, Dr. C. V. Raman, who has already earned for himself an international reputation. He resigned a lucrative appointment in the Finance Department of the Government of India to serve his *Alma Māter* with all devotion of enthusiastic self-sacrifice.

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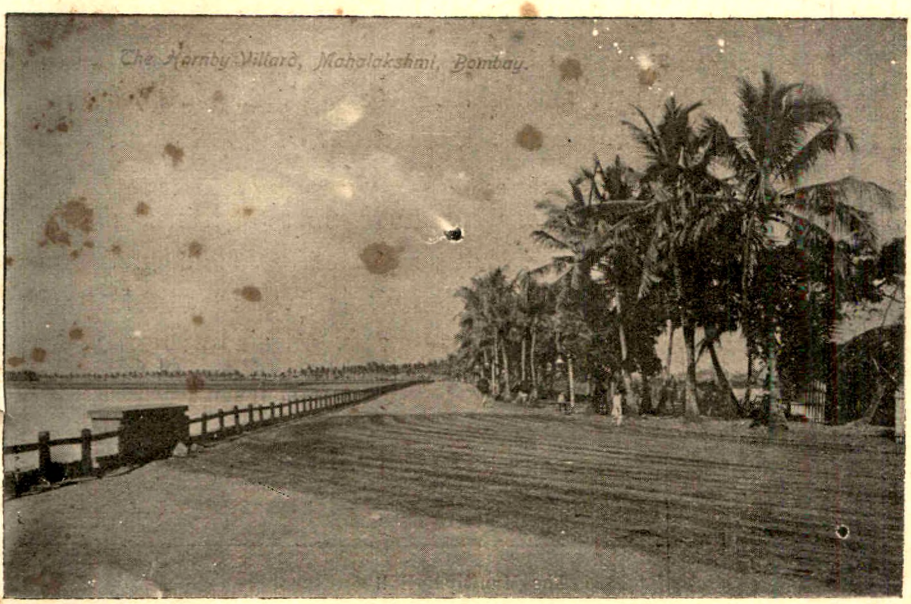
The Post-Graduate system has to be examined from two distinct points of view. The one is the quality of the students which it is producing, the other, the growth of the spirit of research it stimulates in those who are associated with the organisation. The former depends very largely on the nature of the training the students receive previous to their joining the Post-Graduate classes, and to secure better equipped M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s the first necessity is to effect substantial improvements in the present system of education in the Bengal schools and colleges. This is doubtless a problem which entails enormous expenditure from the public funds and will be slow of solution ; but the great service which the Post-Graduate Department has already rendered to higher education in this Province,—and this is as a rule lost sight of by the ordinary spectator,—is the creation of a growing school of Indian scholars, who, harnessed with the task of teaching, are themselves engaged in spreading the bounds of knowledge. It is a new phase in the educational system of the country, and perhaps because it is new, acknowledgment or appreciation has been hard to obtain from the people of Bengal. Ignorance, suspicion and oftentimes jealousy, have outwitted the State which has in consequence ignobly failed to do what was but its duty to the University. But the story of the activities of Calcutta University teachers has travelled across the seas, their productions have been placed on the market and eminent Western thinkers have come forward to recognise their laudable efforts to arouse a quick interest in many important fields of study, some of which had hitherto been totally neglected.

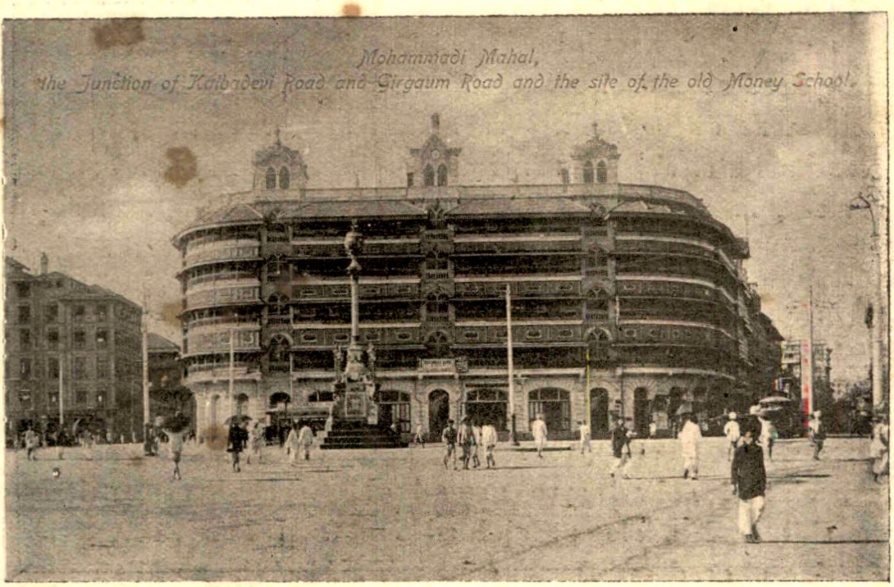
It is consoling to the scholar to perceive that the more intelligent and patriotic section of the community is beginning to know something of their own people who are striving, under the guidance of their High Priest, to scatter, amidst enormous difficulties, the seeds of a truly national institution. No human organisation in this world is perfect, and it would be idle to claim that this new system has no defects. Far from it. It has been in existence for less than six years, a small span in the life of a nation. What, however, has been demonstrated beyond all cavil is that the system is pregnant with great possibilities and if reared and nurtured in the right spirit, with benevolence and judiciousness, it will place the University of Calcutta on a pedestal which will challenge the homage and excite the pride of all India.

THE CHELA

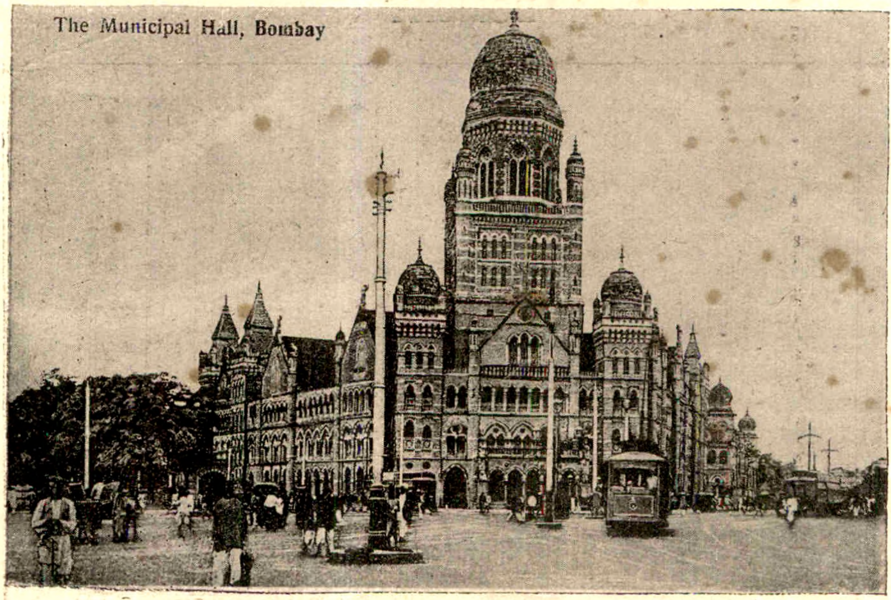
BOMBAY


The Hornby Villard, Mahalakshmi, Bombay.

The Hornby Villard


Mohammadi Mahal,
the Junction of Kalbadevi Road and Girgaum Road and the site of the old Money School.

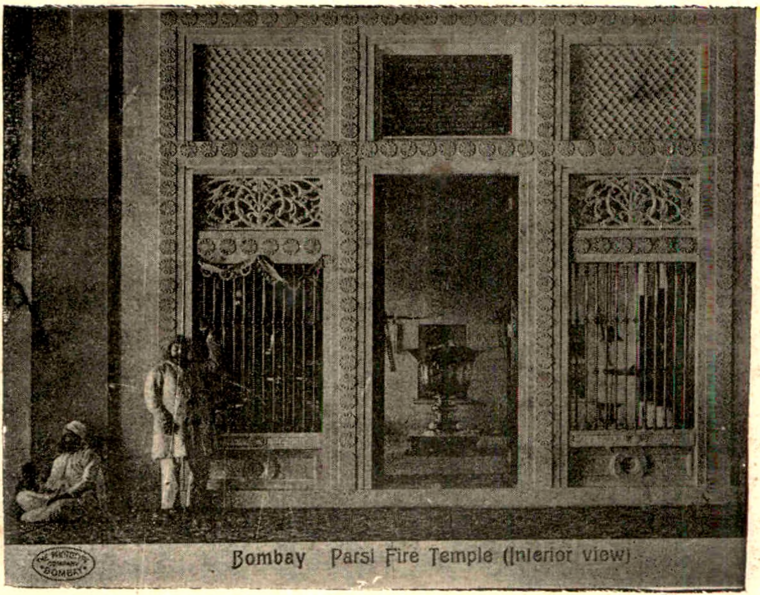
Mohammadi Mahal


The Municipal Hall, Bombay

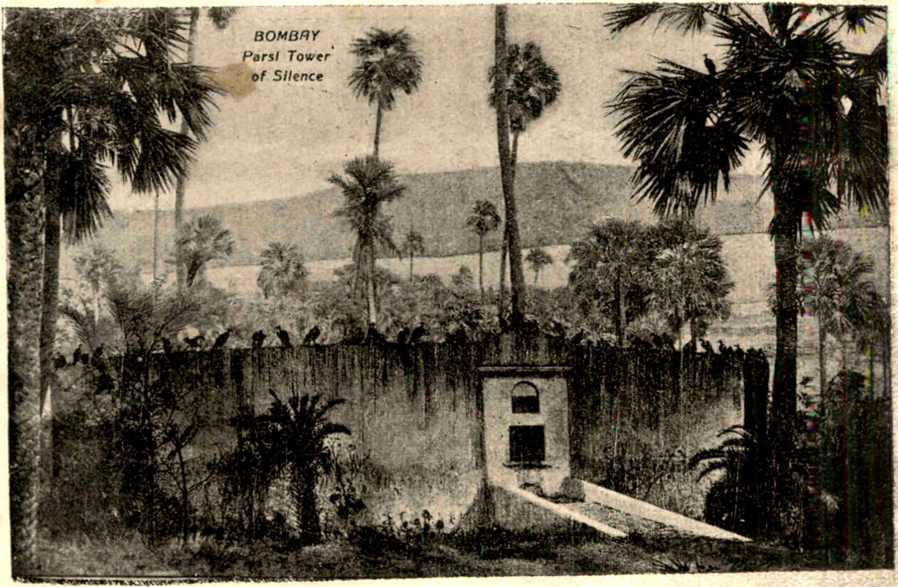
The Municipal Hall

Elphinstone Circle, North Side, Bombay.

Elphinstone Circle


Bombay Parsi Fire Temple (Interior view)

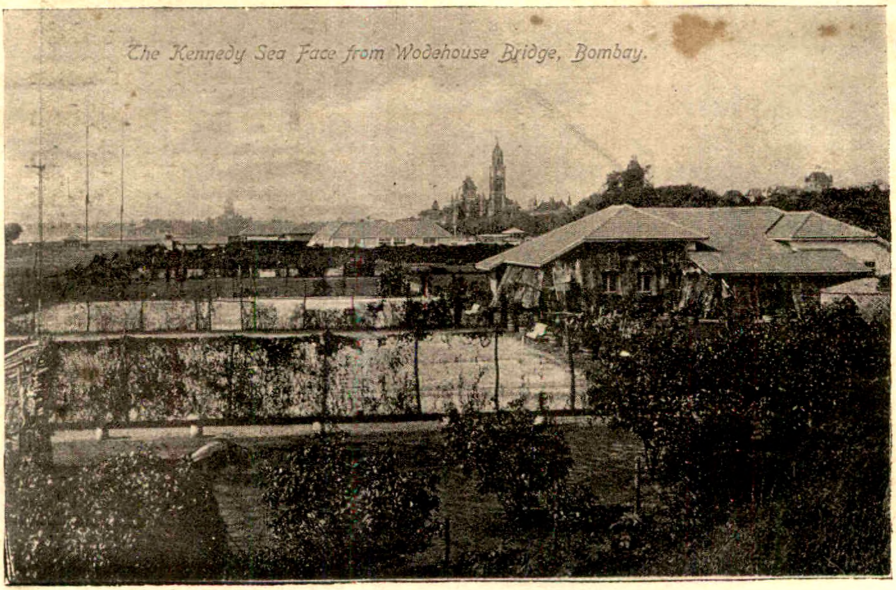
Parsi Fire Temple (Interior view)


BOMBAY
Parsi Tower
of Silence

The Tower of Silence

Bombay.
University Clock Tower.

University Clock Tower


The Kennedy Sea Face from Wodehouse Bridge, Bombay.

Kennedy Sea Face

THE SPIRIT OF THE PUJAS[1]

The grandest and perhaps the most solemn of the religious ceremonies of India is that known as Durga Puja. This great annual event is looked forward to with unconcealed feelings of rapturous pleasure and expectation; and the homes of Bengal, whether blessed with worldly riches or cursed with horrid poverty, are unconsciously merged in a unique, though temporary, sense of enchanting forgetfulness. The restrictions that follow the growth of age swiftly disappear, and the prospect of appearance of the Universal Mother in their very midst thrills the hearts of the old and the young alike. Carefully clad in new raiment, gorgeous or simple according as their circumstances are, the young folks merrily march along the streets visiting, one after another the houses of their more fortunate neighbours, who perform the Puja. They look with bewildered eyes upon the majestic form of the goddess with ten arms each holding a deadly weapon, with one foot on the back of the lion and the other firmly planted upon the broad shoulders of the demon, whose breast is being ruthlessly pierced with a lance. She does not stand there alone. Her whole family is with her. There are her two daughters, Lakshmi and Saraswati; and just below them are seated her two reputed sons, Kartick and Ganesh.

* * *

To trace the origin of the Mothercult means an inevitable entrance into a dry and disputed region. It would be an act of indiscretion on my part if I were now to lead my readers through the hazy indefiniteness of the primitive ages and proceed to elaborately discuss how in the infancy of human mind men used to mix up their own fancies and feelings with the ways of bird and beast, the various phenomena of land and water and the movements of sun and moon and stars and planets. I hesitate accordingly to enter into a discussion of the various interpretations offered by different schools of thought, for that would assuredly be crossing the barriers of general interest. I should not at the same time brush aside this aspect altogether but would rather refer to one of the most prominent schools of thought for, I doubt not its examination will rouse the interest and curiosity of the readers.

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The Mythology of the Puranas and the mysticisms of the tantras associate this festival with a portentous event in the history of the heavens. The Kingdom of Heaven fell in danger; the Demons and the Asuras, rendered supremely powerful by the sufferance of the Almighty, attacked the regions of the gods, put them to rout, dethroned them, reduced them to a plight of poverty and humiliation, and challenged the command of the Creator himself. Defeat and oppression carried the gods to the presence of Visnu, who was their Lord. The divine wrath of the indignant Visnu was tremendous, and streams of glory rushed forth from his glowing countenance and lo! there sprang Maha-maya. There came out flashes of anger from the faces of other gods which having entered the person of Maha-maya transformed her into a body of divine and dazzling glory.

* * *

That was Durga; the beauty of Siva was stamped on her face, the strength of Visnu was in her arms, and the darkness of Yama (the God of Death) was present in the cloudy range of her dishevelled hair. Brahma decorated her with his rosary of beads. Visnu approached her with his disc, Siva gave her his trident, Bisvakarma, the heavenly artisan, presented her with his axe, the Ocean laid before her a garland made of the finest lotuses, and the Himalaya brought for her a majestic lion to ride on. Thus endowed with divine powers and glory and equipped with brilliant weapons she in a frighful rage ascended into the air and demons lost the day. This Pouranic myth is commemorated by the celebration of the Durgotsava, the festival of Durga, who proved to be the saviour of the gods from the scourge of the demons. It is one of the mythological versions of the origin of Durga, and it is needless to point out how remarkable must have been the influence of the legend on the minds of the people of the dark ages of India.

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It is interesting to bear in mind that the worship of the goddess was originally celebrated in March during the spring and not in October. In Bengal the March celebration has lost its hold almost completely. The legend describing how the goddess came to be worshipped in the month of October has been of late associated with the Ramayana. Ravana, the ten-headed monster-king of Lanka, proved an exceedingly formidable adversary for Rama whose resources were fast being exhausted. He did not despair of success, and in a spirit of undaunted devotion and confidence he began to worship the goddess Durga. The legend proceeds to narrate how Rama promised to lay at the feet of the goddess as many as one hundred blue lotuses. These were secured in time, but in order to test the depth of Rama's devotion Durga took away one of them. Rama was perplexed and the gravity of the situation was intensified by his inability to secure another lotus. The time of the worship was fast slipping by and the great king whose devotion was unconquerable proceeded to perform a truly courageous deed. He was about to take out one of his own blue eyes which were in no sense less beautiful than the lotuses. The goddess intervened. The desired boon was readily conferred on Rama. Victory smiled on him and it was through his efforts that the worship of the goddess came to be celebrated at what was an unrecognised period of the year.

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The interpretations of the Puja have been varied in form and number. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, that great novelist, who has been described as the Scott of Bengal, offered an interpretation that was characteristic of him. The goddess is invoked during the autumn season. It is a period when the natural beauty of the fields, full of rich crops, affords as much pleasure to the human eye as does the dancing gait of the voluminous rivers whose water is no longer scanty or dirty, thanks to the rains that are just over. Bengal is mainly an agricultural land. What with the plentitude of harvest and natural beauty of the surroundings, the sturdy and honest peasant folks of Bengal who were neither oppressed by an incessant anxiety for '*bhat* and *dal*,' nor tormented by the hideous intrusion of almost continuous epidemics, invoked the goddess with outstretched arms and open heart. The Mother is represented as the source of all power and glory. On her right are Ganesh and Lakshmi. Ganesh is the eternal symbol of success, and his worship returns vigour and strength to those who crouch under despair and despondency. Lakshmi is herself the goddess of wealth, of Fortune. Her stores never go empty, and he who will secure her blessings will never know what sufferance means. But what charm does accompany wealth, if ignorance rules the world? And on the left of the Mother stands Saraswati, the goddess of Wisdom. Painted in scrupulous white, she stands on a lotus and boldly challenges the superiority of wealth to wisdom.

* * *

There is still one more whose position is in no way less important than the others, and he is Kartik, a son of the Mother, and the General in Chief of the army of the gods. He symbolises martial powers and without his dominant presence the group cannot evidently be deemed complete. The material forces of Evil and Good are clearly depicted by the Demon and the lion under the feet of the Mother. This represents the image of all that is high and noble, leading to materialistic and spiritual success in life. Far above the panorama of the divine figures one detects the sublime form of Siva engaged in deep contemplation and in the vision of the beatitude with characteristic unconcern of all that surrounds him.

Reviews

Religion and Modern Life by S. C. Roy, with an Introduction by the late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar. Published by the Asutosh Library, Calcutta, 1923.

The book and its Introduction, though written from the point of view of Brahmoism and with what may be regarded as a propagandist motive are inspired by a lofty enthusiasm for lofty ideals. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who writes the Introduction, holds that the 'sleeping east,' seems to be more at peace with itself than the 'go-ahead' west, on account of its adherence to certain imponderables or ultimate values. Such an estimate does not, however, blind him to the defects of modern Indian life, which he exposes with much force and earnestness. "We find fault with western civilisation because of what are thought to be its defects in point of colour bar and racial distinctions, its exploitation of the weaker peoples and its worship of money and material wealth: but we forget that in our own country, we by our conduct stand condemned in the eyes of God and Man for sharing these defects in our treatment of our own countrymen and in our spiritual, social and economical relations" (p. xvii). Both Justice Chandavarkar and Professor Roy believe that the remedy for our present ills is not less of religion but more of it, a greater earnestness in living the life of spirit instead of merely praising it with our lips. It is true that the great religions of India demand the practice of *maitri* or Universal benevolence but the author contends that the general life of the people does not realise the ideal. The book is a valuable one for all who are interested in the problems of religious life and growth.

X.

Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750-1921. Edited by Prof. A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Lit., Oxford (Humphrey Milford). While there have been innumerable source books about English history, there are very few dealing with Indian history. Although there is a wealth of material to compile these source books, but so far hardly anybody has attempted this task. Prof. Keith's work might be regarded as a good pioneer work in this untrodden field. It brings within easy reach of a student of British Indian History, despatches and speeches, for which he would have to hunt in a big library. It is to be regretted that the editor did not think it fit to indicate the sources from which he had made his excerpts. The book is divided into two volumes, the first covering the period from 1750-1858, the second coming down to 1921. The last selection is the address of the Duke of Connaught inaugurating the Legislative Assembly.

In the second volume, the editor has wisely included some 'unofficial' documents like Mr. Gokhale's political testament, the Congress League Scheme and the Memorandum of the nineteen elected members as to post-war reforms. It is difficult to see why Prof. Keith made the year 1750 the starting point of his selection. Macaulay speaking in the Commons in 1833, said (Vol. I, p. 230)—'It is a mistake to suppose that the company was a merely commercial body till the middle of the last century. More than 120 years ago, it was in miniature precisely what it is now. It was intrusted with the very highest prerogatives of sovereignty.' A few extracts from the earlier charters and court minutes would have enhanced the value of the work. Every man has his own criterion as regards what should be included and it would not be very difficult to find fault with Prof. Keith's selections. But it is impossible to satisfy every reader.

Y. J. T.

New Light upon the Philosophy of India by D. Gopaul Chetty. Published by Messrs J. M. Dent & Sons, London.

The title of the book and the publisher's puff on the outer wrapper are both misleading. The author is undoubtedly a very earnest man and knows a good deal about Śaiba Siddhānta, Swedenberg, and modern Christian Mystic Literature but he has not apparently systematised his ideas. His hope that India will be won for Christ through the teaching of Swedenborg is very complimentary to Swedenborg but not to himself. "I am quite sure," he says, "that in half a century such a Christianity will be able to do ten times as much work as the orthodox churches have accomplished in the last three centuries." Even if the author is right in holding that " India is a land of philosophy, and Indians require philosophical teaching to convince them," he is certainly wrong in thinking that " Swedenborg's philosophy is the best suited for the purpose."

The book is a sign of the present chaos and unsettlement in the religious world where men are casting covetous eyes on short-cuts to salvation.

Y.

Readings in English Social History, Vol. IV. 1603-1688. Edited by R. B. Morgan, M.Lit'.,—(Cambridge, at the University Press). History becomes very often hardly anything but a bare chornicle of the kings and their vices, of politicians and their intrigues, of soldiers and their sanguinary feats of arms. It is but a gilded pageant, and as such gilded cheat. The people, the real hero of history, is forgotten. What we most like to know in English history is how the average Mr. John Bull lived in the past.—What was his mode of life, how did he dress, what recreations was he fond of, what were his joys and sorrows. It is only recently that social history has come to be regarded as perhaps the most important aspect of a nation's life story.

The present book consists of selections from contemporary literature and gives a vivid picture of English social life during the seventeenth century. We find King James sermonising in his usual pedantic style against the prevalence of tobacco-habit—'a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs.' We read of rich schoolmasters (does such a prodigy exist[?) who scorned 'to touch the school but by the proxy of an usher,' and of rich scholars 'commuting their whipping into money.' Mr. Pepys to witness an execution paid a shilling 'to stand upon the wheel of a cart in great pain, alone an hour before the execution was done.' Very interesting side-lights are given about the theatres, and sports of the Restoration period. The editor seems to have made his selections with judicious skill. The teacher of English history will find many a suggestive fact with which to give life to the dry bones of their subject.

Y. J. T.

The Indian Atheneum—a Journal devoted to History, Literature and the Arts (26, Chowringhee, Calcutta). There must be in India many persons who, weary of the din and bustle of political conflicts, would like to have a monthly run entirely on non-political lines. So far, there was hardly in this country a journal which would meet with their needs. To them, our new contemporary—the Indian Atheneum—will be just the paper they want. It is devoted to history, literature and the arts of the world, and preserves a nice balance between the grave and the gay. The get-up speaks well of the enterprise of its promoters. Appropriately enough, the first article gives an interesting account of Armenian Journalism in India. The first Armenian journalist—Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon—edited, composed and printed his monthly and even the paper used in printing was manufactured by him. We extend a cordial welcome to our new friend and we hope that it will soon attain the literary stature of its great namesake.

Y. J. T.

Ourselves

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Our respectful condolence to the Vice-Chancellor on the occasion of his sad bereavement. To lose in quick succession a grandson, a son, a sister and a daughter would be sufficient to kill the ardour and buoyancy of the strongest of men. But he has braved the series of sorrows like a man. It is understood that the Vice-Chancellor will join the Royal Commission towards the end of this month and this may lead to his temporary absence from Calcutta during portions of November and December. We are gratified to hear that he will, notwithstanding such occasional absence, remain at the helm of our affairs.

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THE JAGATTARINI MEDAL.

The Syndicate have awarded the Jagattarini Medal for 1923 to Babu Saratchandra Chattopadhaya for his original contributions to Letters written in the Bengali language. The adjudicators have selected for special mention as his chief contributions his works named *Palli-samaj*, *Ramer Sumati*, *Bindoor Chele* and *Srikantha*. It will be recalled that the first recipient of the Medal was Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to whom the award was made in 1921.

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STEPHANOS NIRMALENDU GHOSE LECTURER.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that sometime ago our distinguished friend, Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh, founded a lectureship in this University for the promotion of the

THE SPIRIT OF THE PUJAS[1]

The grandest and perhaps the most solemn of the religious ceremonies of India is that known as Durga Puja. This great annual event is looked forward to with unconcealed feelings of rapturous pleasure and expectation; and the homes of Bengal, whether blessed with worldly riches or cursed with horrid poverty, are unconsciously merged in a unique, though temporary, sense of enchanting forgetfulness. The restrictions that follow the growth of age swiftly disappear, and the prospect of appearance of the Universal Mother in their very midst thrills the hearts of the old and the young alike. Carefully clad in new raiment, gorgeous or simple according as their circumstances are, the young folks merrily march along the streets visiting, one after another the houses of their more fortunate neighbours, who perform the Puja. They look with bewildered eyes upon the majestic form of the goddess with ten arms each holding a deadly weapon, with one foot on the back of the lion and the other firmly planted upon the broad shoulders of the demon, whose breast is being ruthlessly pierced with a lance. She does not stand there alone. Her whole family is with her. There are her two daughters, Lakshmi and Saraswati; and just below them are seated her two reputed sons, Kartick and Ganesh.

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The interpretations of the Puja have been varied in form and number. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, that great novelist, who has been described as the Scott of Bengal, offered an interpretation that was characteristic of him. The goddess is invoked during the autumn season. It is a period when the natural beauty of the fields, full of rich crops, affords as much pleasure to the human eye as does the dancing gait of the voluminous rivers whose water is no longer scanty or dirty, thanks to the rains that are just over. Bengal is mainly an agricultural land. What with the plentitude of harvest and natural beauty of the surroundings, the sturdy and honest peasant folks of Bengal who were neither oppressed by an incessant anxiety for '*bhat* and *dal*,' nor tormented by the hideous intrusion of almost continuous epidemics, invoked the goddess with outstretched arms and open heart. The Mother is represented as the source of all power and glory. On her right are Ganesh and Lakshmi. Ganesh is the eternal symbol of success, and his worship returns vigour and strength to those who crouch under despair and despondency. Lakshmi is herself the goddess of wealth, of Fortune. Her stores never go empty, and he who will secure her blessings will never know what sufferance means. But what charm does accompany wealth, if ignorance rules the world? And on the left of the Mother stands Saraswati, the goddess of Wisdom. Painted in scrupulous white, she stands on a lotus and boldly challenges the superiority of wealth to wisdom.

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There is still one more whose position is in no way less important than the others, and he is Kartik, a son of the Mother, and the General in Chief of the army of the gods. He symbolises martial powers and without his dominant presence the group cannot evidently be deemed complete. The material forces of Evil and Good are clearly depicted by the Demon and the lion under the feet of the Mother. This represents the image of all that is high and noble, leading to materialistic and spiritual success in life. Far above the panorama of the divine figures one detects the sublime form of Siva engaged in deep contemplation and in the vision of the beatitude with characteristic unconcern of all that surrounds him.

Reviews

Religion and Modern Life by S. C. Roy, with an Introduction by the late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar. Published by the Asutosh Library, Calcutta, 1923.

The book and its Introduction, though written from the point of view of Brahmoism and with what may be regarded as a propagandist motive are inspired by a lofty enthusiasm for lofty ideals. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who writes the Introduction, holds that the 'sleeping east,' seems to be more at peace with itself than the 'go-ahead' west, on account of its adherence to certain imponderables or ultimate values. Such an estimate does not, however, blind him to the defects of modern Indian life, which he exposes with much force and earnestness. "We find fault with western civilisation because of what are thought to be its defects in point of colour bar and racial distinctions, its exploitation of the weaker peoples and its worship of money and material wealth: but we forget that in our own country, we by our conduct stand condemned in the eyes of God and Man for sharing these defects in our treatment of our own countrymen and in our spiritual, social and economical relations" (p. xvii). Both Justice Chandavarkar and Professor Roy believe that the remedy for our present ills is not less of religion but more of it, a greater earnestness in living the life of spirit instead of merely praising it with our lips. It is true that the great religions of India demand the practice of *maitri* or Universal benevolence but the author contends that the general life of the people does not realise the ideal. The book is a valuable one for all who are interested in the problems of religious life and growth.

X.

Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750-1921. Edited by Prof. A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Lit., Oxford (Humphrey Milford). While there have been innumerable source books about English history, there are very few dealing with Indian history. Although there is a wealth of material to compile these source books, but so far hardly anybody has attempted this task. Prof. Keith's work might be regarded as a good pioneer work in this untrodden field. It brings within easy reach of a student of British Indian History, despatches and speeches, for which he would have to hunt in a big library. It is to be regretted that the editor did not think it fit to indicate the sources from which he had made his excerpts. The book is divided into two volumes, the first covering the period from 1750-1858, the second coming down to 1921. The last selection is the address of the Duke of Connaught inaugurating the Legislative Assembly.

In the second volume, the editor has wisely included some 'unofficial' documents like Mr. Gokhale's political testament, the Congress League Scheme and the Memorandum of the nineteen elected members as to post-war reforms. It is difficult to see why Prof. Keith made the year 1750 the starting point of his selection. Macaulay speaking in the Commons in 1833, said (Vol. I, p. 230)—'It is a mistake to suppose that the company was a merely commercial body till the middle of the last century. More than 120 years ago, it was in miniature precisely what it is now. It was intrusted with the very highest prerogatives of sovereignty.' A few extracts from the earlier charters and court minutes would have enhanced the value of the work. Every man has his own criterion as regards what should be included and it would not be very difficult to find fault with Prof. Keith's selections. But it is impossible to satisfy every reader.

Y. J. T.

New Light upon the Philosophy of India by D. Gopaul Chetty. Published by Messrs J. M. Dent & Sons, London.

The title of the book and the publisher's puff on the outer wrapper are both misleading. The author is undoubtedly a very earnest man and knows a good deal about Śaiba Siddhānta, Swedenberg, and modern Christian Mystic Literature but he has not apparently systematised his ideas. His hope that India will be won for Christ through the teaching of Swedenborg is very complimentary to Swedenborg but not to himself. "I am quite sure," he says, "that in half a century such a Christianity will be able to do ten times as much work as the orthodox churches have accomplished in the last three centuries." Even if the author is right in holding that "India is a land of philosophy, and Indians require philosophical teaching to convince them," he is certainly wrong in thinking that "Swedenborg's philosophy is the best suited for the purpose."

The book is a sign of the present chaos and unsettlement in the religious world where men are casting covetous eyes on short-cuts to salvation.

Y.

Readings in English Social History, Vol. IV. 1603-1688. Edited by R. B. Morgan, M.Lit.,—(Cambridge, at the University Press). History becomes very often hardly anything but a bare chornicle of the kings and their vices, of politicians and their intrigues, of soldiers and their sanguinary feats of arms. It is but a gilded pageant, and as such gilded cheat. The people, the real hero of history, is forgotten. What we most like to know in English history is how the average Mr. John Bull lived in the past.—What was his mode of life, how did he dress, what recreations was he fond of, what were his joys and sorrows. It is only recently that social history has come to be regarded as perhaps the most important aspect of a nation's life story.

The present book consists of selections from contemporary literature and gives a vivid picture of English social life during the seventeenth century. We find King James sermonising in his usual pedantic style against the prevalence of tobacco-habit—'a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs.' We read of rich schoolmasters (does such a prodigy exist[?) who scorned 'to touch the school but by the proxy of an usher,' and of rich scholars 'commuting their whipping into money.' Mr. Pepys to witness an execution paid a shilling 'to stand upon the wheel of a cart in great pain, alone an hour before the execution was done.' Very interesting side-lights are given about the theatres, and sports of the Restoration period. The editor seems to have made his selections with judicious skill. The teacher of English history will find many a suggestive fact with which to give life to the dry bones of their subject.

Y. J. T.

The Indian Atheneum—a Journal devoted to History, Literature and the Arts (26, Chowringhee, Calcutta). There must be in India many persons who, weary of the din and bustle of political conflicts, would like to have a monthly run entirely on non-political lines. So far, there was hardly in this country a journal which would meet with their needs. To them, our new contemporary—the Indian Atheneum—will be just the paper they want. It is devoted to history, literature and the arts of the world, and preserves a nice balance between the grave and the gay. The get-up speaks well of the enterprise of its promoters. Appropriately enough, the first article gives an interesting account of Armenian Journalism in India. The first Armenian journalist—Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon—edited, composed and printed his monthly and even the paper used in printing was manufactured by him. We extend a cordial welcome to our new friend and we hope that it will soon attain the literary stature of its great namesake.

Y. J. T.

Ourselves

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR.

Our respectful condolence to the Vice-Chancellor on the occasion of his sad bereavement. To lose in quick succession a grandson, a son, a sister and a daughter would be sufficient to kill the ardour and buoyancy of the strongest of men. But he has braved the series of sorrows like a man. It is understood that the Vice-Chancellor will join the Royal Commission towards the end of this month and this may lead to his temporary absence from Calcutta during portions of November and December. We are gratified to hear that he will, notwithstanding such occasional absence, remain at the helm of our affairs.

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THE JAGATTARINI MEDAL.

The Syndicate have awarded the Jagattarini Medal for 1923 to Babu Saratchandra Chattopadhaya for his original contributions to Letters written in the Bengali language. The adjudicators have selected for special mention as his chief contributions his works named *Palli-samaj*, *Ramer Sumati*, *Bindoor Chele* and *Srikantha.* It will be recalled that the first recipient of the Medal was Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to whom the award was made in 1921.

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STEPHANOS NIRMALENDU GHOSE LECTURER.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that sometime ago our distinguished friend, Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh, founded a lectureship in this University for the promotion of the study of Comparative Religion. The first occupant of the Chair was Professor Arthur Anthony Macdonell, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, in the University of Oxford. The Senate have just appointed as his successor Professor Maurice Arthur Canney, Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature in the Victoria University, Manchester. Professor Canney had a distinguished career as a student in the University of Oxford. He was Fish Exhibitioner for Hebrew, Houghton Prizeman for Syriac; he was besides Pusey and Ellerton and Kennicott Scholar for Hebrew. He took his Degree with Double Honours in the Schools of Theology and Semitic Languages. He was subsequently a student in the University of Berlin and a teacher at Kolberg and Magdeburg. He was appointed Lecturer in the Manchester University in 1910 and has been Professor since 1912. His contributions to the Encyclopædia Britannica, the Encyclopædia Biblica, and the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics are well known. He has recently published an Encyclopædia of Religions. It was explained at the meeting of the Senate that as the first lecturer was an authority on Aryan Religions, the second lecturer might well be a specialist on Semetic Religions.

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HARDINGE PROFESSOR.

On the retirement of Dr. C. E. Cullis, the Senate appointed a Special Committee to recommend a successor. The Committee submitted a Preliminary Report on the 9th March, 1923, to the following effect:

"In view of the circumstances that the Chair of Mathematics founded by Sir Rashbehary Ghose is reserved for Applied Mathematics and that there are four Chairs reserved for Physics, we are of opinion that the Hardinge Chair of Mathematics should be reserved for Pure Mathematics.

Preference should obviously be given to a specialist who is eminent for his work and attainments in some department of the rapidly extending domain of modern Pure Mathematics, and who may be expected to lay the foundation for a School of Pure Mathematics in this University. We propose accordingly to make further enquiries before we submit our final report to the Senate."

The Committee, on the 29th September, 1923, recommended "that Dr. Ganesh Prasad, M.A., D.Sc., formerly Sir Rashbehary Ghose Professor of Applied Mathematics in this University, be appointed Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics, for a term of five years, on a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month." The Committee further recommended "that he be permitted to visit from time to time the chief seats of mathematical learning outside India, provided no extra expenses be incurred on such account." To the Report was appended the following statement of the work accomplished by Dr. Ganesh Prasad.

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

(A) PURE MATHEMATICS.

I. *Differential Geometry.*

(1) "Ueber den Begriff der Krümmungslinien" (Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Mathematisch-physikalische Klasse, 1904, Heft 3).

(2) "Ueber die Hilbertschen Sätze in der Theorie der Flächen konstanter Gaussscher Krümmung" (Mathematische Annalen, Bd. 61, 1905).

(3) "Ueber eine Klasse von nichtanalytischen Flächen konstanter Gaussscher Krümmung" (Mathematische Annalen, Bd. 64, 1907).

II. *Theory of Functions of a Real Variable.*

(4) "On the present state of the theory and application of Fourier's series" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1914).

(5) "On some recent researches relating to the expansibility of functions in infinite series" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society. Vol. 2, No. 2, 1915).

(6) "On the existence of the mean differential co-efficient of a continuous function" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 3, 1915).

III. *Harmonic Analysis.*

(7) "Ueber das Gausssche Verfahren für die Zerlegung einer ganzen homogenen Funktion in Kugelfunktionen," (Mathematische Annalen, Bd. 72, 1912).

IV. *Theory of Potentials.*

(8) "On the potentials of ellipsoids of variable densities" (Messenger of Mathematics, Vol. 30, 1900).

(9) "On a non-analytical potential function" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1909).

(10) "On the linear distribution corresponding to the potential function with a prescribed boundary value" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 5, 1916).

(11) "On the second derivates of the Newtonian potential due to volume distributions having a discontinuity of the second kind" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 6, 1916).

(12) "On the failure of Poisson's equation for certain volume distributions" (Philosophical Magazine, Vol. 34, 1917).

(13) "On the failure of Poisson's equation and of Petrinis generalization" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 8, 1918).

(14) "On the Newtonian potential due to a surface distribution having a discontinuity of the second kind" (Rendiconti del Circolo Matematico di Palermo, t. 42, 1917).

(15) "On a peculiarity of the normal component of the attraction due to certain surface distributions" (Philosophical Magazine, Vol. 36, 1918).

(16) "On the normal derivate of the Newtonian potential due to a surface distribution having a discontinuity of the second kind" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 9, 1919).

(17) "On the potential of a double layer whose strength

has a discontinuity of the second kind" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 2, 1920).

(18) "On the failure of the analogue of Poisson's equation for the logarithmic potential due to certain distributions" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 4, 1922).

(B) APPLIED MATHEMATICS.

(19) "Constitution of Matter and analytical theories of heat" (Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschiaften zu Göttingen. Mathematich-physikalische Klasse, Bd. 2, No. 1, 1903).

(20) "From Fourier to Poincare" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 3, 1915).

(21) "On the vibrating string with an infinite number of edges" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 6, 1916).

BOOKS.

(A) PUBLISHED.

(1) "Text-book of Differential Calculus" (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1909).

(2) "Text-book of Integral Calculus" (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1910).

(3) "Mathematical Research in the last 20 years" (Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin and Leipzig, 1923).

(B) IN THE PRESS.

(1) "The place of partial differential equations in Mathematical Physics" (Readership Lectures delivered at the Patna University in 1921).

(2) "From Wallis to Weierstress : Lectures on the development of the theory of elliptic functions."

LIST OF THE PRESENT AND FORMER RESEARCH STUDENTS OF DR. GANESH PRASAD WITH THE TITLES OF THE PAPERS PUBLISHED BY THEM WITH HIS HELP.

I. **Dr. Bibhutibhusan Datta, D.Sc.**, University Lecturer in Applied Mathematics, Calcutta University :—

(1) "On the figures of equilibrium of a rotating mass of liquid for laws of attraction other than the law

of inverse square" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 3, 1915).

(2) "On the motion of two spheroids in an infinite liquid along the common axis of revolution" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 7, 1917)

(3) "On the non-stationary state of heat in an ellipsoid" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 8, 1918).

(4) "On a method for determining the non-stationary state of heat in an ellipsoid" (American Journal of Mathematics, Vol. 41, 1919).

(5) "On the motion of two spheroids in an infinite liquid along their common axis of revolution" (American Journal of Mathematics, Vol. 43, 1921).

II. **Dr. Sudhansukumar Banerjee, D.Sc.,** Director of the Colaba Observatory, and formerly Ghosh Professor of Applied Mathematics in the Calcutta University:—

(1) "On sound-waves due to prescribed vibration on a spherical surface in the presence of rigid and fixed spherical obstacle" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 4, 1915).

(2) "On electromagnetic waves due to electrical oscillations on the surface of thin spherical shell in the presence of a non-concentric conducting sphere" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society. Vol 5, 1916).

(3) "Vibration of a membrane bounded by two non-concentric circles" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 8, 1918).

III. **Mr. Hariprasanna Banerjee, M.Sc.,** University Lecturer in Pure Mathematics, Calcutta University:—

(1) "On a generalised force-function of Painleve's type" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 4, 1915).

(2) "On the application of the theory of functions to Dynamics" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 8, 1918).

IV. **Mr. Narendrakumar Majumdar, M. A.,** University Lecturer in Pure Mathematics, Calcutta University:—

(1) "On the use of Ritz's method for finding the vibration-frequencies of heterogeneous strings and membranes" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 10, 1920.)

V. **Dr. Sasindrachandra Dhar, D.Sc.,** Professor of Mathematics in the Government College, Nagpur, and formerly University Lecturer in Pure Mathematics in the Calcutta University :—

(1) "On the vibrations of a membrane whose boundary is an oblique parallelogram" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 8, 1918).

(2) "On some new theorems in the geometry of masses" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 9, 1919),

(3) "On Joachimsthal's attraction problem" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. X, 1920).

VI. **Dr. Nalinimohan Basu, D.Sc.**, Reader in Mathematics in the Dacca University and formerly University Lecturer in Applied Mathematics in the Calcutta University :—

(1) "On the motions of a perfectly elastic particle inside a given plane area under no external forces" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 7, 1917).

(2) "On the determination of a rough surface on which a moving particle may describe a prescribed path" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society Vol. 8, 1918).

(3) "On a new case in which the motion of a particle on a rough surface is determinable by quadratures" (Philosophical Magazine, Vol. 37, 1919).

(4) "On some laws of central force" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 13, 1922).

VII **Dr. Nikhilranjan Sen, D. Sc.**, Ghosh Professor of Applied Mathematics in the Calcutta University :—

(1) "On the potentials of uniform and heterogeneous elliptic cylinders at an external point" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 10, 1920.)

(2) "On the potentials of uniform and heterogeneous elliptic cylinders at an external point." (Philosophical Magazine, Vol, 38, 1919.)

VIII. **Mr. Bholanath Pal, M.A.**, Lecturer in Mathematics in St. Xavier's College, Calcutta :—

(I) "On the motion of an ellipsoid of revolution in a viscous fluid in the light of Professor Oseen's objection to Stokes's treatment of the case of the sphere" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 10, 1920).

IX. **Mr. Lakshminarayan, M.A.**, Reader in Mathematics in the Lucknow University, and Member of the Senate and the Court of the Benares Hindu University :—

(1) "On a new discontinuous function given by Westfall and Lukacs" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 2, 1915)

(2) "The construction of certain peculiar rectifiable curves" (Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 8, 1918).

(3) "On a result in the expansion of an arbitrary function" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 1, 1919).

(4) "Integration images and the failure of the curvature formula" (To appear soon in the Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society).

X. **Mr. Gorakh Prasad, M.Sc.**, Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Member of the Faculty of Science in the Benares Hindu University, and Secretary of the Benares Mathematical Society :—

(1) "The effect of the double suspension mirror on the sensitiveness of the balance" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 1. 1919)

(2) "On the expansion of the product of two parabolic cylinder functions in a series of parabolic cylinder functions" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 2, 1920).

(3) "Parametric equations of the path of a projectile in a resisting medium" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 3, 1921).

(4) "On some new properties of the parabolic cylinder functions" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 4, 1922).

XI. **Mr. Harendranath Datta, M.Sc.**, Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Member of the Faculties of Arts and Science in the Benares Hindu University :—

(1) "Remarks and criticisms on some results of Mrs. A. G. Kirkhoven-Wythoff" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 1, 1919).

(2) "On the stability of the equilibrium of right prism floating freely in a liquid" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 2, 1920).

(3) "A rejoinder to the reply of Mrs. A. G. Kirkhoven-Wythoff to Professor Datta's criticism of her paper" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 2, 1920).

(4) "On Bertrand and allied curves" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 3, 1921).

(5) "On the use of Riccati's equation in the theory of geodesics" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 3, 1921).

(6) "On the geometrical interpretation of a class of partial differential equations of the first order" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 4, 1922).

(7) "On surfaces having special types of geodesics or lines of curvature" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 4, 1922).

XII. **Mr. Badrinath Prasad, M.Sc.**, Assistant Professor of Mathematics in the Benares Hindu University:—

(1) "On non-differentiable functions which have progressive or regressive derivatives for certain values of the variable" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 3, 1921).

XIII. **Mr. Shukdeva Pande, M.Sc.**, Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Member of the Faculty of Science in the Benares Hindu University:—

(1) "On certain new tautochrones determinable by quadratures" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 1, 1919).

(2) "On certain summation formulae for tesseral harmonics" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 2, 1920).

(3) [Jointly with Mr. Mewa Ram Saksena, M.A., B.Sc.] "On the ellipsoidal harmonics of the first sixteen degrees" (To appear shortly in the Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society).

XIV. **Mr. Dhirendrakumar Sen, M.Sc.**, formerly University Research Scholar in Mathematics in the Benares Hindu University:—

(1) "On the application of Burgess's method for determining the uniform motion of an ellipsoid of revolution through a viscous liquid along its axis of revolution" (Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society, Vol. 2, 1920).

XV. **Mr. Mewa Ram Saksena, M.A., B.Sc.**, University Research Scholar in Mathematics in the Benares Hindu University:—

(1) [Jointly with Mr. Shukdeva Pande, M.Sc.] "On the ellipsoidal harmonics of the first sixteen degrees" (To appear soon in the Proceedings of the Benares Mathematical Society).

XVI. **Mr. Siteshchandra Kar, M.A.,** Professor of Mathematics in the Bangabasi College, Calcutta :—

(1) " On the electrical resistance of a conducting spheroid with given electrodes " (Bulletin ot the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 9, 1919).

We cordially welcome the appointment of Dr. Ganesh Prasad. He had a brilliant career as a student of Mathematics. He is an M. A. of this University, an M. A. and D. Sc. of the Allahabad University and an M. A. of the Cambridge University. He was also, for a time, a student at Gottingen under Professor Klein and Professor Hilbert. He held for four years the Chair of Applied Mathematics in this University, founded by Sir Rashbehari Ghosh, and during this period he worked with great energy as Secretary to the Calcutta Mathematical Society. Since then he has been Professor of Mathematics in the Benares University where he founded the Benares Mathematical Society. The statement, set out above, shows that he has been remarkably successful as an inspirer of research students, and there cannot be the least doubt of his capacity to build up and develop a School of Pure Mathematics in this University. Dr. Ganesh Prasad lost his wife many years ago and never married again ; his only daughter whom he had educated with care died of plague. These bereavements may, perhaps, account for what is called by people who do not like him as his " temperamental peculiarities ". It is easy to exaggerate his deficiencies, man but we may state this without hesitation that there can be no question as to his devotion to duty and his anxiety to promote the welfare of his students.

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TAGORE LAW PROFESSOR.

The Faculty of Law has just recommended the appointment of Professor Henry Solus of the University of Poiteres as Tagore Professor of Law to deliver a course of lectures on

"The Spirit of French Civil Law". Prof. Sylvain Levi describes the attainments of Profsessor Solus in high terms and adds: "No pedantry; a clear mind and typical instance of our French method, that is, of reaching general ideas through a full analysis of selected details." The following is a statement of the academic qualifications and publications of Professor Solus:

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS.

Docteur en Droit et Sciences Juridiques de la Facultè de Droit de l'Universitè de Paris.

Agrégé (Fellow) des Facultes de Droit.

1920-21 ... Charge de cours (Assistant Professor) a la Faculte de Droit de Poitiers.

1921-23 ... Professeur de Droit Commercial a la Faculte de Droit de Nancy.

1923 ... Professeur de Procedure de Civil et Lois d'Execution a la Faculte de Droit de Poitiers.

PUBLISHED WORKS.

1914 ... L'Action directe et l'interpretation Jurisprudentielle des Articles, 1752, 1798 et 1994 Code Civil. (These de doctorat—Paris, 1914—270 pages.—Couronnne par la Faculte de Droit de Paris).

1920 ... De la Condition des Revenus dotaux. (Revue trimestrielle de Droit Civil, 1920, pp. 5-38).

1921 ... Le Projet de Loi Belge relatif a la depossession involontaire des titres au porteur. (Annales de Droit Commercial, 1921, pp. 45-57).

Le Beglement transactionnl (Communication Faits a la Chambre de Commerce de Nancy).

Note aux Recuel de Jurisprudence Sirey. 1921-2-129. (Sous Un Arret de la Court de Nunes (?) 6 Juin 1921.) Sur le responsibilite du Concesionnaire de mines a l'egard des propriataires de la surface dont les sources ont ete taries par les travaux de mine.

Chroniques de Jurisprudence sur la propriete et les droits reels. (Revue trimestrielle de Droit Civil, 1921, pp. 285-296, 766-777).

1922 ... Le projet de loi sur les assurances sociales. (Revue Industrielle de l'Est, 1922, et brochure speciale de 22 pages).

De la liquidation entre associes des societes de Fait. (Revue des Societes, 1922, pp. 261-275).

La Comptabilite et le Bilan dans les societes par Action.

La Controle dans les societes par Action.
(Communications Faites a la Chambre de Commerce de Nancy).

Note aux Recuel de Jurisprudence Sirey. 1921-1-361. (Sous un arret de la Court de Cassation au 21 Juin 1921) sur les droits de vive pature et de vaine pature.

Chroniques de Jurisprudence sur la propriete et les droits reels.

(Revue trimestrielle de Droit Civil, 1922, pp. 194-206, 426-434, 666-672, 915-923.)

1923 .. Les Actions a Droit de vote privilegie. (Revue des societes, 1923, 315-326.)

Les reviseurs, organe de controle dans les societes par Actions de droit allemand (Annales de drit commercial, 1923—*Sous Presse*).

Note aux Recuel de Jurisprudence Sirey. 1923-2-5. Sous an arret de la Court de Montpellier du 22 October, 1922) sur le caractere de la cession du droit d'extraire le minerai et son opposabilite aux tiers.

Note a la revue du droit Minier (Juillet, 1923) sur les cas ou doitetre fourni la caution de reparer les dommages causes par les travaux miniers.

Chroniques de Jurisprudence sur la propriete et les droits reels (Revue trimestrielle de droit Civil, 1923, 174-192, 530-547).

PRINCIPAL EGERTON SMITH ON METRE.

Mr. Egerton Smith, Principal of the Krishnagar College. has just published a valuable work on English Metre. Even to the most casual reader, the volume will appear to represent laborious work for several years. The book is not intended for junior students and will repay careful study even by experienced scholars. The following notices indicate its nature:

"Professor Egerton Smith, of Krishnagar College, writes on a subject which is apt in some hands to become a dry enumeration of the various metres used in English poetry, but he redeems the classificatory part of his duties by the excellence of his examples and by excursions into the borderline of literary criticism which to a metrist pure and simple might not strictly seem to fall within his province. He contrasts, for instance, "Lycidas" with Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations," considering the effect which each has on the ear as a sustained whole, and going beyond mere matters of scansion: the metrist here merges into the aesthetic critic. We cite this instance here in order to indicate what Professor Smith's readers are to expect. His chapter on classical quantity as applied to English is welcome after recent experiments, and so also is what he has to say of *vers libres*. He is happily free from fads, and has a sure appreciation, even after he has had to do a piece of dissection, of the great masters. " (*The Times Literary Supplement, July 19, 1923*).

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" Professor Smith has written an excellent book. The first 130 pages in which he discusses the nature of rhythm, could not be surpassed for discriminating analysis and clearness of statement. On almost all points we find him at one with Dr. William Thomson. Thus he locates the ictus at the beginning of the vowel sound, though later, on page 90, he does not push this decision to its logical conclusion by making "ense-br" the actual verse syllable in "incense-breathing." But this lapse is rare. We note his affirmation that a trochee cannot replace an iamb, that measure is from accent to accent; his recognition that the faintest suggestion of accent satisfies the ear; and generally his perception of the elements that constitute flow, and of the one element that is fundamental to metre and is the basis of uniformity in verse. We are indebted to him for quoting from Symonds a passage which shows a preference on that poet's part for the bars of the musical composer as suggesting a true basis of poetical measurement. Professor Smith himself partly uses the musical system, and invariably by his use of the pause and of the single-beat measure and by his method of dealing with rhythm cruces, shows the logical value of the method even when no musical form is employed. But while absolutoly definite, he eschews dogmatism. His subsequent treatment of actual measures and stanzaic forms is equally good and the sections dealing with song verse and speech-verse, free verse and blank verse, and the whole chapter on Rime are qually pleasurable and profitable. The student, indeed, will often find the book as inspiring as it is judicious; despite the formal nature of a great part, there is nothing of the dry-as-dust recorder of measure in it." (*The Glasgow Herald, July 13, 1923*).

PROFESSOR SYAMADAS MUKHERJI.

The following letter received by Professor S. D. Mukherji from Professor F. Engel of Giessen, the founder of the German School of Non-Euclidean Geometry, may be of interest to our readers.

"I received your sending* on the 3rd inst. and thank you heartily for that. It has given me great pleasure to read through your work, though I have not worked through it so thoroughly as is necessary to tes every individual step. I am surprized over the beautiful new calculations on right-angled triangles and three-right-angled quadrilaterals and I regret I am just now engaged with other things and therefore cannot plunge as deeply as I would like to. Your analogies in the Gaussian Pentagrama mirificum are highly remarkable. Thanks once again."

PRE-HISTORIC WRITING ON A NEOLITH.

"We are desired to publish for the information of our readers that Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda announced that the supposed pre-historic writing on a neolith (stone celt from Assam) in the Indian Museum consisted of five Arabic numerals in the monthly general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held on the 4th May, 1921, in course of the discussion that followed the reading of Professor Hem Chandra Das-Gupta's paper *On the Discovery of the Neolithic Indian Script* (Vide Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. XVII, 1921, No. 4, p. cclviii)."

MORE ABOUT NEOLITHS.

In the August number of this *Review*, we have referred to Mr. R. D. Banerji's assertion that the writing on the Assam neolith was 19·.-74, that this date was engraved by one Kasimuddin, in the employ of the Indian Museum, apparently to denote the date when the stone was received as an exhibit. Kasimuddin was ignorant of English, and consequently, instead of using hyphens to separate the day, the month, and the year, integers of the date, he always began by incising an underline. We asked Mr. Banerji to produce one more such instance, but he has not yet done so, so far as our knowledge goes. Evidently, it was a mere cock and bull story to which he seems to have treated the learned members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. If any body has still any doubt on this point, we request him to refer to a paper on "Stone Implements from the Khasi Hills" by John Cockburn, published in the Journal of this Society, Vol. XLVIII. Pt. II. P. 133 & ff. It is evident from the very first page of this article that the stone implement was secured some time between 1877 and 1879, and that when it was so received, it bore the same writing on it, as is clear from Plate XIV. No. B. of the same Journal. It will be seen from this that neither of the statements in which Mr. Banerji indulged is true, because in the first place the neolith did not come to the Museum in 1874, but between 1877 and 1879, and secondly, as the neolith, when it was brought, had already the same characters engraved on it, they could not possibly have been incised by Kasimuddin.

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* Paper on "Geometrical investigations on the correspondences between a right-angled triangle, a three right-angled quadrilateral, and a rectangular pentagon, in hyperbolic geometry," published in the Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1922-23.

JOURNALISTIC ETIQUETTE.

Babu Kalipada Banerjee, Head Master, Garbetta H. E. School, has sent the following communication to the Press:

"A few months ago, a pamphlet bearing the title given above was published by the Calcutta University. (I, in my capacity as Headmaster of a High School, had the opportunity of receiving a copy of it from the Registrar.) The pamphlet is a collection of opinions expressed by the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," the "Servant," the "Bengalee," the "Statesman," the "Englishman," and some other daily and weekly English papers, and also by Sir P. C. Roy, Principal G. C. Bose, Mr. Bipinchandra Pal, Mr. Satyananda Bose, Mr. Basanta Kumar Bose, Dr. P. N. Banerjee, and Prof. Lalit Kumar Banerjee, on the last convocation addresses of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Lord Lytton, and on the subsequent "Lytton-Mookerjee Correspondence."

Now, the Editor of the "Modern Review," in criticising the publication and free distribution of the above pamphlet, in the Editorial "Notes" of the "Modern Review" for July, 1923 (P. 110), made the following remark :—"It (the pamphlet) contains the opinions of some English Daily and Weekly papers and of some sycophants, partisans or terrorised victims of Sir Asutosh on his last convocation address and on the Lytton-Mookerjee correspondence," etc. This is, in my humble opinion, tantamount to saying that the seven gentlemen mentioned above (*viz.*, Sir P. C. Roy and others) are "Sycophants, partisans or terrorised victims of Sir Asutosh." This remark appearing as highly objectionable to me (as, I am sure, it will appear to every educated Indian), I wrote a letter to the Editor of the 'Modern Review' protesting against the said remark in the following words :—"It is not in my line to be a blind admirer of anyone, nor am I cognisant of the exact relation (social, political, academic or otherwise) that exists between Sir Asutosh on the one hand and Sir P. C. Roy and others on the other. But I cannot anyhow persuade myself to believe that any educated and public-spirited Indian will agree with you or hold you justified in suspecting men like Sir P. C. Roy and others to be sycophants, partisans or terrorised victims of Sir Asutosh and not honest exponents of their independent views." I requested the Editor to publish the letter in some subsequent issue of the Review, but he has returned the letter "with thanks," expressing his inability to "use" it, but not giving "specific reasons for his decision" for "lack of time." Should not the Editor, who holds a high reputation among the journalists of the day as an impartial critic, have, in all fairness, by publishing my letter or at least a summary of it, given his readers an opportunity to know that his remark has not passed unchallenged but has called forth a voice of protest from at least one of them? I shall wait and see what view my educated countrymen take of the matter."

* * *

We have been constrained to print this correspondence as it throws a lurid light on the *methods* of a particular journal when it chooses to attack the University :

[To The Editor, Calcutta Review. Sir,—The following letter was sent to the Editor of the *Modern Review* for publication, but as he has not done so, I crave the indulgence of your columns to publish the same.

Yours faithfully
KALA-DHALA.]

To THE EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.

SIR,

I am obliged to you for your publishing in the 'Modern Review' for September, 1223 (p. 339), a portion of my letter. First of all I would like to ask you whether it is journalistic honesty, to disclose, in any way, the identity of a writer who wants to remain *incognito?* Would you have been justified if you had given out the names of Vetus, Inside View or Kala Pahad? Perhaps the two line poem in an issue of the *Prabasi* and the consequent exposure which you had and the defeat of Professor Jadunath Sarkar in an election when he had made an unfortunate candidate stand but had afterwards recanted, are more or less responsible for the journalistic breach of etiquette.

Regarding mangoes and sweet, I am sure you would commend the practice as continuing giving them rather than be accused of being a time-server, when you do not require any more the services of some who had helped you when you were in difficulties. And certainly it is much better than eating the মাছের মুড়া (fishe's head) yourself, with your guest remaining satisfied with a piece of fish.

As regards the incident in the *Express* I pity the editor described by you as "fat" one. Could he deserve such a complement considering that not long ago, he had rendered conspicuous service to the gentleman who has caused him to be characterised as such, by the convening of a meeting in his house to support the candidature of Professor Jadunath Sarkar who not content with his name to be proposed by six Fellows was busy canvassing for the Syndicate and when the "fat" editor in spite of his fatness stood as a sturdy cavasser? Such is gratitude!

You have made comments on the incidents of Professor Sarkar's election as an honorary member of the R. A. S. without publishing the whole para. Further, one Mr. Aswini Kumar Ghosh who signed himself as "Asst. Editor" wrote to me from the Modern Review Office as follows: "There is a reference in your article to some information regarding Professor Jadunath Sarkar which appeared in a different journal. The fit place for making comments on that is the journal in which that news appeared. We have therefore omitted that portion also, which (?) this matter is discussed." And yet you thought fit to make comments.

I have it, Sir, in black and white that the information about the election of Professor Jadunath Sarkar as an Honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society had its direct origin from the great Indian historian himself on the last occasion he visited Patna (the first since his election) and that I may go so far as to say that the editorial note in the *Express* written under the same roof when Professor Sarkar was then staying. One is reminded of the two column life of Professor Sarkar written by Mr. S. S. Bose (no body knows what are the claims of Mr. Bose to write on the work of a historian) which appeared in the *Englishman* of Calcutta when Mr. Sarkar was there. This is curious in as much as notices appear in newspapers simultaneously with Professor Sarkar's presence, be it in Behar or Bengal.

You have accused me of self-advertisement. I plead guilty, but pray who does not? If an oldman like yourself or one of the position of Mr. Sarkar can hardly resist the temptation of such advertisements, how can I, a comparatively youngman? You used (and perhaps you have not even given up the practice) of sending draft reviews of your *Modern Review* and *Prabasi* to the editors of the papers with whom you were in exchange. Will you also kindly refer to an old issue of the *Nabya Bharata*, to its editorial notes about yourself, by the late revered Debi Prosanna Rai Chowdhury?

In an issue of the *Prabasi*, Professor Sarkar took to task Sir Asutosh (he called him "Brother Mookerjee"—a fine piece of humour), no doubt, when he, on several occasions and not once as mentioned by Mr. Khuda Bux stooped to take the dust of his "Brother Mookherjee," when the statement made by Mr. Khuda Bux that it was Sir Asutosh who procured for him the Hindu University Professorship, the stepping stone of his I.E. Ship has not been challenged when you have not ventured to print the lines in my letter referring to the Calcutta University Minutes of the Syndicate about the great Indian historian (1916, Part 2, p. 559) for the leakage in the Science College Building. If Sir Asutosh can be accused of it, may not one accuse a member of the Governing Body of college for leakage in his college building? I mention this incident, for you say that malicious people or envious sycophants throw mud because they think that some of it might stick. I am sure the *Prabasi* correspondent is in the same position and may I add that many people think of your achievements in this line in the same light?

Finally let me add this. In spite of the vituperations of Vetus (I am sure with the elevation of Vetus all the sins of the I.E.S. have now been washed off, for we do not now hear any more of the wholesale condemnation of this service), the I.E.S. is still going strong, in spite of the insinuation of Inside View against Malaviyaji, his University is expanding and have not the least doubt that in spite of Kala Pahad and his coterie the Calcutta University will go on in the advancement in Learning. Let us remember that just as in spite of the iconoclastic follies of the real Kala Pahad, the Hindu and Buddhistic religions are still alive, so in spite of all the destructive criticism of yours and your correspondents (of course you and they are not sycophants), I am sure the Calcutta University will continue to produce scholars.

And you will have to admit that even the Good Homer some times nods, it may be at Darjeeling, Calcutta or Patna. If more proofs are necessary, I shall be glad to submit them to you, Sir, for one devoid of common sense does sometimes require inspirations from others who change their coats with their posts.

Yours etc.
KALA-DHALA

PROFESSOR SAMADDAR.

The following letter has been addressed by the Minister of Education of Bihar and Orissa to Professor Samaddar whose book has been recently published by the Calcutta University and about which we reproduced the letter of Dr. Jolly, the great orientalist. We are glad to find that, after all, research has not been confined to one single individual in Borissa.

"I have read your lectures on the Economic Condition of Ancient India with very great interest and have derived much pleasure and profit from the same. Being a layman, I do not pretend to judge the value of your conclusions about the Economic Condition of Ancient India, but it seems to me that you have taken great pains in bringing together useful materials from original sources and in verifying your references for which you deserve congratulations. I am glad to think that you have been able to find time to do something more than your ordinary college work and I hope your example will act as an incentive to others. I shall await with interest the publication of the other books which I understand you have in hand."

DR. SEN ON SHIVAJI.

The following review of Dr. Surendranath Sen's "Administrative System of the Marathas," published by the Calcutta University, appeared in *The Times of India*:

We can hardly find adequate words in which to express our approval of this work and our admiration of the writer's industry. Hitherto the historians of the Marathas have confined themselves to battles and sieges, diplomacy and politics; but the enquiring mind of Dr. Sen has turned aside from this superficial if fascinating side and diving deep below the surface, has sought to lay bare before the reader the foundations on which the wonderful Maratha Empire rose almost as swiftly as Troy to the music of Apollo.

"Like that strange song I heard Apollo sing
When Ilium like a mist rose into towers."

The merit of laying the foundation stones truly and well, Dr. Sen rightly ascribes to Shivaji. The Marathas had been made one people by the work of their saints from Dnyandev to Tukaram. But if they were one people in speech and thought, they were politically all at variance. Every village had its rival claimants to the Patilship; the rivals stopped at no villainy to achieve their ends; and blood-feuds were handed down from generation to generation. Dr. Sen has recorded several instances of these desperate family quarrels. One will suffice. The Jedhes and Khopres were rival claimants to the headship of a village in Bijapur. One of two Jedhe brothers induced the Sultan of Bijapur to give him a written charter appointing him headman. As he returned happy from his successful intrigue, he was waylaid by the Khopre pretender and murdered. Baji, the surviving Jedhe brother, fled to the sea-coast and bided his time. Some three months later Khopre took unto himself a wife. The wedding gave Baji Jedhe his chance. With some hereditary servants and twelve brave and skilful cut-throats, he fell upon the marriage party and murdered Khopre with sixty of his attendants. This rendered the Khopres for the time being innocuous. But now a new blood feud arose inside the Jedhe family itself. Kanhoji, a descendant of Baji Jedhe, became so powerful that he made himself independent of the Sultan. When he died, however, the Sultan seeking to recover his jurisdiction, won over Kanhoji's youngest son Naikji and gave him a Charter for the fief. Instantly, his six elder brothers murdered him. Naikji's widow Ansaba killed treacherously two of the murderers and was afterwards herself slain by the remaining four. Her baby son Kanhoji was saved by a devoted nurse and entered Shivaji's service. On hearing this Kanhoji's uncles and also the Khopres became devoted adherents of Afzal Khan.

It was the power of these truculent village tyrants that Shivaji broke. By his amazing personality he turned them into devoted supporters of his cause. Having established his kingdom, he divided the duties of administration between eight ministers. In addition he created the post of King's Chitnis or private secretary, a personage no less powerful than any of the ministers. There was also the Phadnis or Chief Secretary to Government and the Potnis, or first lord of the Treasury. The Potdar was the governor of the royal mint. Below the eight ministers were the officers in charge of the eighteen Karkhanas and the twelve Mahals. The former were government departments and the latter were branches of the royal household. But the private and public departments overlapped and there was no clear cut division between them. Each minister had a separate secretariat, which consisted of eight principal officers, (1) the Divan, (2) the Mazumdar or Auditor, (3) the Phadnis or Deputy Auditor, (4) the Sabnis or chief clerk, (5) the Karkhanis or Commissary, (6) the Chitnis or Correspondence Clerk, (7) the Jamdar or Treasurer, (8) the Potnis or Cash-keeper. Above all was the king and into this great machine Shivaji infused his own divine energy. His son Sambhaji, exasperated by the attempt to set aside his just claims to his father's throne, substituted for his father's system his own personal rule, which in time came to mean that of Kalasha his minister. After Sambhaji's fall and death, Rajaram restored Shivaji's machine. It lasted until the coup d'etat of 1750, by which the Peshwa, one of the eight ministers, became supreme in the state. The remaining seven were removed from power, but were allowed to enjoy their fiefs: With the Peshwa rose his Phadnis or deputy auditor and for many years Nana Phadnis was the chief figure in the Government.

Here we must leave Dr. Sen's fascinating book. Besides its immense value, it throws a curious light on the difficulties which to-day confront an Indian writer. Dr. Sen is a Bengali. In order to obtain a hearing, he has to write in English. But he who writes on Maratha history must be conversant both with Marathi and Persian. Dr. Sen promptly learnt these two difficult languages. His work is thus a monument to his wonderful linguistic gifts as well as to his tireless, unceasing industry.

DR. GHOSAL ON HINDU POLITICAL THEORIES.[1]

It was a great pleasure for me to receive a letter and the present of your book from the friend of my friends Dr. Suniti Chatterjee and Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta. *I have read the book with great pleasure and*

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[1] The italics are ours.—Ed. C.R.

thank you sincerely for it. The style and expression are what any Englishman might be proud of, and I like very much your treatment of the whole subject. I have written a review of it in the 'Mind,' the chief and English philosophical periodical. In the course of the review I have suggested some criticism on two points—this, you will find, is to your advantage, because it will add weight to the rest of what I say. The points are (1) that in your appendix on the origin of kingship you would strengthen your statement by referring specially to Hobbes *etc.* However, I agree with all you say as far as it goes. (2) On the other point it is rather different. I have pointed out that in your interpretation of R. V. IV. 42 (p. 27) you are holding a view which needs justification against other views. On your general view (the divine origin of the king) I agree, only I think that the evidence you adduce needs more discussion. On the question of social contract I have been more emphatic than you, but I trust that I have not misrepresented your position. I shall be glad to know what you think, when I send you a copy of my review.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
Cambridge, 31st Aug. 1923.

Sd. EDWARD J. THOMAS

Many thanks for your letter of July 5, and for your kindness in sending me a copy of your "History of Hindu Political Theories." I will write again a little later, when I shall have completed the perusal. At present *I should like to congratulate you upon your excellent English style, an accomplishment you share with Dr. S. K. De, and our common friend, to whom please give my very cordial remembrances, Dr. S. K. Chatterji.*

THE LIBARARY,
INDIA OFFICE,
Sept. 12, 1923.

Sd. F. W. THOMAS

I have received your book on "Hindu Polity." I read it with the greatest interest, as I am finishing now my work on the 'History of Indian Materialism', in which I discuss the origin of the Arthasastra, and I investigate the connexion of this school with the ancient Lokayata. *Your book is exhaustive, and it deserves the attention of Western scholars of political science.* Therefore I shall speak of it not only in the Bulletino d' Studi Orientalia of our University, the most important Italian Review of orientalism, but also I shall introduce it to a larger public, writing an article on it to be published in the Rivista Storica.

I shall be very glad if you would be so kind as to send me all your publications. Italy and India through their scholars ought to get in closer touch with one another.

Rome, 7th October, 1923.

Sd. G. TUCCI

THE FINANCIAL OUTLOOK OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

There was an interesting discussion on the financial outlook of the British Universities at the Annual Conference of the Universities of the United Kingdom held at King's College, London, on the 12th May last, under the auspices of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire. From the report of the discussion, which we reproduce below, it will be found that the problems which the British Universities have to face are in many respects very similar to the difficulties which beset us: there is this difference, however, that while the British Universities have no lack of sympathetic friends, we have an abundance of not overfriendly critics.

"SIR THEODORE MORISON (Armstrong College): It is difficult to generalize about University finance, because each of our Universities, from local or historical causes, has peculiarities or special characteristics of its own, and these are faithfully reflected in the accounts. The remarks I am going to make are, therefore, applicable to the mean only; they have no more truth than an average; they cannot be applied to any one University without careful examination of the individual case.

University education benefits (1) the State, (2) the individual, and (3) the locality or neighbourhood in which the University is situated, and the presumption, which I see no reason to challenge, is that the three beneficiaries should contribute to the support of the University in approximately equal proportions. In practice this ratio is generally observed. The Financial Tables attached to the Report of the Universities Grants Committee for the year 1921-22 show that in almost all the Universities and University Colleges of England 90 per cent. to 95 per cent. of the income is comprised under these three heads, and that the amounts received under each head, if not absolutely equal, are comparable. I want to examine these three heads of income separately.

I.—*The State.* All I have to say upon Parliamentary Grants received by the Universities is a word of warm appreciation of the work of Sir William McCormick's Committee. Our obligation to them is very great. The Treasury Grants have saved the Universities of England; without this assistance from the State it is difficult to see how the Universities could have got through the crisis caused by the War. In Universities and University Colleges of the normal type, the assistance from Parliamentary Grants constitutes a third to a half of the total income. Taking the average over the whole of England, Parliamentary Grants represent 34·6 of the University income. I think that this represents the proportion of State aid to total income to which our individual institutions should attempt to conform. As my own institution is one that offends against this rule, I may perhaps without offence ask you to accept the principle that "State aid should not usually exceed 40 per cent. of total income." Anything in excess of this appears to me to demand an explanation and justification.

II.—*The Individual.* With regard to the income derived from the individual or student, I wish to plead for a new arrangement of the figures in the University Grants Committtee's schedules. Examination fees are now lumped with "Other Income" and separated from tuition fees. The tuition fees taken alone usually amount to something less than a full third of total income and, therefore, at a cursory glance, one might come to the conclusion that the student was not paying his proper proportion of the cost of University education. Bnt this is not so. Examination fees come out of the Student's pocket just as much as tuition fees, and if the two are added together it will be found in most cases (where the new scale of fees has come into operation) that examination fees and tuition fees together amount to fully as much as the

Parliamentary Grants. I should like to plead for such an arrangement of the figures as would make it evident at a glance that the student on the new scale of fees is shouldering his fair share of the academic burden.

III.—*Local Assistance.* The third head, Local Assistance, is the one upon which I want to detain you longest. My view is that under this head should be comprised (*a*) Grants from Local Authorities, (*b*) Donations and Subscriptions, (*c*) Income from Endowments, *i.e.*, the first three headings of U. G. C. Table 7. In modern Universities endowments come from persons living in the locality and interested in the local university. The wandering millionaire who is moved to endow a chair in an industrial area is a negligible exception. I claim, therefore, that all the income derived from endowments, as well as subscriptions and grants from Local Authorities, should be put to the credit of the locality in which the University is situated. Even when this is conceded the locality is, I am bound to recognize, the weakest of the three contributors. The amount that can be credited to this head does not in the majority of cases exceed 25 to 27 per cent. of the total income—*i.e.*, local assistance is markedly less than the contributions of the State or the student. Against this it might be argued that almost all our buildings have been provided by local generosity ; and 5 per cent. on the original value of our land and buildings would be an addition to the revenue derived from local sources so substantial as to turn the scale, and would probably prove the locality to have been the most generous contributor of the three partners. But, though there is undoubtedly something to be said for this argument, I am not convinced by it. I think the Universities would be well advised not to press it. I am in favour of making the three contributors pay as nearly as possible equal amounts to annual revenue. In other words, I am of opinion that the neighbourhoods ought to do more than they have hitherto done for their local University. Of course, I recognize that some Local Authorities, such as Sheffield and Nottingham, are splendid exceptions, and have set us all a magnificent example; also that the support given to a technical college is often only another way of supporting the University; but, when all these allowances are made, it is yet broadly true that the Universities are inadequately supported by the localities they serve. I think that this indicates the direction in which we have still a great deal of work to do. We should make it our business to get the principle generally recognized that a University should receive not less than the proceeds of a penny rate from the county borough in which it is situated, and the proceeds of a half-penny rate from the counties or adjacent boroughs which make use of it. The Universities Bureau has very kindly prepared a statement showing the grants which Local Authorities now make to Universities, and in another column the amount yielded by a penny rate in the borough and a half-penny rate in neighbouring towns and counties. Local knowledge is necessary for turning these tables to practical use; it is impossible to an outsider to say whether a University can reasonably claim the proceeds of a half, quarter, or one-eighth of a penny rate from an adjoining county or town; but it is evident that many Universities would gain largely by recognition of the obligations which are owed to them by the surrounding Local Authorities. I therefere suggest that, when we make our appeal, a part of our effort should be devoted towards securing recognition of the obligations of the Local Authorities, and that we should put forward the penny rate in boroughs and the half-penny rate in counties as the proper standard of local assistance.

I ought to add that in my opinion the University owes certain services to the locality, and it should not be backward in recognizing its obligation. If, in the past, the University has fallen somewhat short of its obligations, we should not be unwilling to confess as much, and we should proclaim for the future a policy of developing the study of the locality and fostering a sturdy local patriotism. The centripetal tendency in England has attained excessive dimensions; every decade Government, industry, and finance are growing more centralized; London is draining the provinces not only of money but of brains and character, which is much more important. I do not wish to see London assume that importance in England which Paris has in France. The only bodies, as far as I know, that can stand up against this centralizing tendency are the Universities; if they will, they can foster the spirit of regional independence; they can cultivate a pride in local history and can contribute to the scientific development of the local industries. I suggest to you that the Universities have a duty towards the locality just as the Local Authorities have a duty towards the Universities, and that we ought to work at developing a sense of these reciprocal obligations.

MR. C. GRANT ROBERTSON (Birmingham): In the five minutes allotted to speakers in these discussions, it is only possible to touch on one or two points in a matter so complicated and covering so wide a field as University Finance. I propose, therefore, to limit myself to a few considerations which seem to me, so far as my experience goes at the University of Birmingham, to be relevant to our problem. I concur with Sir Theodore Morison's view regarding division of the three main sources of income for, at any rate, the provincial Universities of England. As regards the first source, Parliamentary grants, our only hope is to bring such pressure to bear upon the Government by united action as will ensure that the amount allocated to the University Grants Committee shall not be diminished but increased. With regard to the second source, students' fees, I think the limit has been reached. I agree with Sir Theodore Morison that examination fees ought to be reckoned in the contribution of the students. After the payment of fees and examination fees, the cost of a student is, I find, on the average from £38 to

£40 per annum. That sum has to be found from some source or other. Part of it is provided from Parliamentary grants, but the remainder has to come from local sources. Let me suggest just two considerations with regard to these local sources. We have to draw, at any rate so far as the provincial Universities are concerned, a distinction between the big city in which the University is situated and the surrounding area, and it is much easier to bring your case home and to arouse local pride, municipal pride, in the city; therefore, Sir Theodore Morison's suggestion, that we should aim at a penny in the one case and a half-penny in the other, seems a practical contribution to a practical policy. But it must be in all our minds that these grants, or at any rate those received from the Municipalities, are not net grants. They look larger than they actually are. The City of Birmingham gives us £15,000 a year, but it promply takes back £6,000 in rates. and would take a larger sum still if it had not been for the efforts of our first Chancellor, who secured that one part of our buildings should be entirely rate free. In the second place it probably takes off, and quite properly too, from the £15,000, £2,000 for free places, so that actually the net amount which flows into the University exchequer is something like £6,000 or £7,000, and not £15,000 as it appears to be. And every development of the University which involves an increase to our buildings implies an increase in rates and taxes. In Birmingham we have conducted a considerable campaign to bring the case of the University home not only to the city but to the Midland counties. I have met with the greatest sympathy when I have gone to Coventry, Walsall, and other towns to put the case before them; but the rate-payer is in an unfortunate position. We say, "You are sending us sixty, or eighty, or one hundred students, each of whom costs the University £40 after his fees have been paid. We invite you to make some contribution towards our expenses." Whilst rates are 20s. in the £1, and in one case

23s., any proposal for increasing them is likely to be prejudicial to the interests of the University. We must wait until the financial situation is relieved before we go to the rate-payer for an increased contribution. That is our problem, and we shall be glad to hear from the Treasurers of other Universities their views upon it.

Mr. H. R. Rathbone (Liverpool): In theory I agree with Sir Theodore Morison, but I am not sure that I agree with him altogether in practice, and for this reason. If the present number of students (already more than most Universities can finance) is maintained, there will remain a heavy deficit as, roughly speaking, the students' fees represent about one-third of the cost. But if in the future the number is increased, an issue will be raised which is surely more a national than a local one. Probably all Universities have much the same experience as Liverpool. We draw our students not from the immediate neighbourhood alone, but also from a distance. Some come from outside the United Kingdom. It is a little hard to say to the city of Liverpool: "You must make up the cost of students from Australia, or even of students from the South of England." If it is anybody's duty (besides the students') to provide the funds, it surely is the duty of the State. For this reason, I do not altogether agree with Sir Theodore Morison's proposal that the incidence of the cost should be divided into thirds. It may not be a wise thing to depend too largely on Local Administrative Bodies. By all means let us, if we can, secure a third from private munificence, but I think this is a counsel of perfection to which it will be hard to attain. Gifts from private donors are apt to entail further expense, not to add to general income. The time will come, if it has not already come, when the Universities ought to consider whether they should accept gifts from private individuals for new developments without something in the nature of an endowment. At the present moment we in Liverpool are considering a bequest which will, if we accept it, as I think we shall, involve in the future some further expense, although, fortunately, the sum offered does produce a certain amount for endowment. I hope it will help to set the fashion for other benefactors to include something for overhead charges. It was recognised during the war and since that the new Universities are a tremendous asset to the country. I am not quite sure whether forty per cent. from the Government, and the remaining sixty per cent. divided between students and local authorities, is not a more proper division. There is just a question as to whether we have done all that is desirable in raising fees. When we put ours up by thirty-three per cent. we thought we had reached the limit. But it is possible that we were mistaken. Increasing the use of the Universities by opening our doors to large numbers of new students involves a big loss. Even in the presence of the President of the Board of Education I am bold enough to ask the State for further help. Compared with what is done by other countries, one and a half millions is a small sum for the State to contribute to all the Universi- ties in the country.

Mr. E. G. ARNOLD (Leeds): At Leeds our experience has been totally different from that of Birmingham and Liverpool as regards the Local Authorities in the area served by the University. During the last eighteen months the Vice-Chancellor and I have been attending specially to this point, and we have succeeded in obtaining as new money—£1,800 from the North Riding; £650 from the City of York; an increase in the grant from the City of Wakefield from £200 to £300; a new grant of £750 from Halifax; and £400 from the County Borough of Dewsbury. The Vice-Chancellor returns in a week, and almost immediately afterwards we are to interview the County Borough of Huddersfield on the same matter. We have been met with the greatest friendliness. There has been no talk about the poor local rate-payer. In some cases there was a strong feeling that the new grants ought to have been bigger still.

Mr. J. L. S. Hatton (East London College): In London as a whole definite progress is being made in securing funds from Local Authorities. As a member of the Finance Committee of the University of London, I may say that, although there has been a very considerable response, we can not aim in London at the 1d. rate. If we were to obtain it we should be too rich! The counties round have been approached and, as a result, we have secured from many of them a contribution approximating to one-tenth of a penny, which means a very substantial sum. We have also had some success with boroughs. The Finance Committee may well be satisfied with the response received up to the present. There is one point to which I should like to allude. You, Mr. Chairman, have referred to the fact that your country is autonomous. We, in England, may also remember that in one matter Scotland has been very fortunate. Through the Carnegie Trust your students in Scotland pay very low fees, and I believe that in Wales, at any rate, and in Ireland fees are smaller than the average quoted. One thing in which I personally feel a deep interest is that the poor English student of the artisan or small tradesman class, and those whose parents have been impoverished through the War, should secure in some way or other in England the same opportunities which I think they would have obtained if they had been in Scotland, Wales, or even Ireland. Sir Robbert Blair, who has had great experience of the educational problem in London, has recently drawn attention to this question, which should not be entirely lost sight of in any Conference of the Universities.

Professor J. Wertheimer (Bristol): I am entirely in sympathy with Mr. Rathbone's remarks, which I understand to mean that there is a certain danger that Universities may become too largely dependent on the Local Education Authorities. I do not mean, of course, that we must not at the present time attempt, as Sir Theodore Morison suggests, to get what we can from them, because we were distinctly told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer some time ago that we must do this. But looking at the matter from the point of view of the Universities, I think it would be better if they were aided more largely by the Central Authority and were less dependent on local bodies. I would like to point out that at present many of the students at the Universities do not come from the localities which they more immediately serve ; some come from outside the United Kingdom, and it is desirable that this state of things should continue. We do not want a University to be composed entirely of people who come from a relatively small area ; the students should mix with people from other parts of the world. The Local Education Authority may, however, say, " We are willing to pay for students coming from our own district, but what about those who come from elsewhere ?" There is also a danger that Loamshire may say, " If you do so-and-so it is doubtful whether we shall continue the whole of our grant." Moreover, there is a greater danger of diminution of aid dependent on rates ; for people are more sensitive to the burden of rates than of taxes. I hope, therefore, the Government may take the view that the Universities serve the whole Empire, and that it is the duty of the central body to provide the largest amount of public aid possible.

MR. K. H. VICKERS (University College, Southampton) : I have only two points to make, in which I shall echo all those who have come from the South of England. I feel there is a great difference between the problem of finance in the North and the problem of finance in the South, but principally with regard to my first point, which is that I am convinced we have reached, if we have not considerably passed, the limit of the fees that students are able to pay. For the moment I am not touching on the question of whether the exact mathematical division between the three contributors to the fees is right or not, but wandering about the district which my college serves and talking with the students, I have been brought to the conviction that a large number of young men and women who would benefit by University education are kept away because they cannot afford the expense. In the South too, where, outside London, there are no big packed centres of population as there are in the North, the cost is greater because it entails maintenance at a hostel as well as tuition fees.

My second point is that I am doubtful about the threefold and equal division of contributions to the cost of University education, because it gives too much prominence to rate-aid. I should like again, from the point of view of the South of England, to support all the speakers who have expressed suspicion of too much rate-aid. A certain amount of rate-aid is a bond between a locality and its College or University : a demand for excessive rate-aid is a cause of severance. There is no alternative but to realize that the Universities are doing not merely a local, but a national work, and they must look to the Exchequer for a much larger contribution than from the rates. There is that one other local source of income—the generous benefactor. He is not, however, a very certain source. Some districts may be more fortunate than others ; also some districts may have a run of good fortune and then it may seem to dry up. The benefactor cannot be depended upon as a constant phenomenon. In reality he is a windfall in many cases. We shall have to look to national support for national work, and if the national support is not forthcoming, I am quite sure that in some districts at least the national work will have to be curtailed.

MR. H. J. BUTCHART (Aberdeen) : I for one do not altogether agree with the threefold division suggested for our revenue. The question of payment from students and payment from Local Authorities, is to my mind to a large extent the same. If we deduct the number—for the whole of Great Britain, excluding Oxford and Cambridge, about forty per-cent.—of the students who come from outside the thirty-mile radius, then the fees of the remaining sixty per cent. are paid by the rate-payers of the district. By increasing the fees we have increased the burdens on our local rate-payers. It is unjust to ask them to pay again by increasing their local taxes. Every department in the State and every Local Authority has been faced by the necessity of reducing expenditure, and in the present state of the country's finances and taxation it is the duty of the Universities very carefully to consider their expenditure and to see if they cannot make reductions corresponding to those made by other departments of the State. The cost of materials has gone down very considerably within the last three years. I am not altogether sure that the amount expended on laboratories and other running expenses has been proportionately reduced. It is quite clear that the salaries of the teaching staff cannot be reduced, but it is essential that, rather than launch forth into new departments, we should devote our attention to reinforcing and stabilizing the departments we already have. That does not mean that we are altogether to abstain from embarking on new ventures, but only that we must carefully consider before doing so whether the expenditure will be greater than we can meet.

MR. J. BRUCE MURRAY (Glasgow):—I speak on this matter only from the experience I have acquired in Glasgow. Dealing with the three sub-heads under which the discussion has ranged itself to-day, I am strongly of opinion that greater contributions ought to be made by the State. I think the arguments we have heard from various speakers are conclusive on that point. I am also in agreement with those speakers who consider that the contributions from students cannot be increased, but I should like to take this opportunity of correcting an impression which I find is general that the Carnegie Trust goes further than it actually does in the way of assisting students in Scotland. I do not want to commit myself to figures, but I think the total contribution that any student can receive from the Carnegie Trust does not exceed £ 11 or £ 12.*

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*The average payment per beneficiary was, for 1919-20, £13. 19s. 3d.; 1920-21, £13. 8s. 8d.; 1921-22, £12. 16s. 2d.

In view of the fact that since the benefaction was instituted fees have almost doubled and the number of students has about doubled, it is clear that the Carnegie contribution does not now play a very large part in the education of students. As regards the support from localities, Glasgow has had the enormous advantage of growing up under the shadow of its ancient University, and I have sometimes felt that we did not appreciate this great privilege in the same way as several other cities, where experience of the want of a University has led to such activity and splendid effort of recent years in founding local Universities. The assistance of a locality depends on its appreciation of the benefits of a University, and to some extent also upon the relations which exist between the University and the town. In Glasgow there is a great and growing appreciation of the value of its own University, and I may say that there has been within recent years a wonderful advance in the cordiality of the relations between the University and the citizens generally. That is due to the pursuance of the policy indicated in the opening speaker's remarks, of endeavouring to be of service to the locality. The University of Glasgow has also made a strong effort to prevent decentralization and stimulate local pride. This leads up to the question of how far it is likely that the city of Glasgow will contribute, as is done by some of the cities in England, by means of local rates? So far as I can judge from the conditions of the moment, there is little prospect of its doing so. What should be done is, I think, to continue the policy, so strongly promoted by this Bureau, of educating the public mind as to the value of the Universities.

THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD WOOD (President of the Board of Education):—Although those responsible for inviting me to come to this Conference to-day were also kind enough to invite me on the distinct understanding that I should not have to make any observations, I think that perhaps you might be in some danger of misunderstanding my silence and interpreting it as failure to appreciate your kindness if I did not take the opportunity of saying a word or two; and, as I see the next subject for discussion is upon the merits or demerits of music as a University subject, and as it would be an act of unwisdom on my part to offer observations on that question, I venture to offer them on this.

I have listened with great interest to the discussion—listening perhaps from an angle rather differing from that on which most of the speakers approached its consideration. The problem has been very clearly stated, and it is not any part of my intention to express a view (even if I had sufficient knowledge on which to form one) as to the precise pros and cons that may be argued on either side of the proposal to establish some sort of mathematical proportion. In difficult times, such as those we live in, it is no doubt easier to be critical than to be constructive. It is quite obvious that there are difficulties on every side in the way of raising the extra money required by University developments and the progress of the University movement for which the nation, though reluctant to pay, is certainly looking.

I have no doubt that, although there may be cases where, as one speaker suggested, further review is desirable or possible, yet in the main it is a matter of difficulty to raise students' fees to anything like a substantially higher level. I have also no doubt that there are many influences operating to make the generous benefactor a rare product. He *may* come again. I rather hope that he will. But at the present moment he is not to be relied upon. You are therefore left with the other two main sources, the Local Authorities and the State. More than one speaker has emphasized the dangers attendant upon substantially increased contributions from local aid. I have no doubt that these dangers are real; but they also (do they not?) in some degree attach to a largely increased proportion of contribution from the State. I do not want you to misunderstand what I have in mind. It is certainly true, I think, that it would be unfortunate if the Universities ever were to be limited to serving a small local demand, and it is certainly not true that they are so limited to-day. Therefore they are, as more than one speaker has reminded us, certainly dischargeing what may with strict regard to truth be termed a national function, and by so doing they certainly establish a claim upon the generosity of the State. Reference has been made to the fact that the State at the present moment gives only a paltry contribution to the work, and this, of course, has recently been reduced. That is true, but it is also true that, as compared with the period immediately before the war, the contribution, though still in the minds of all of us inadequate, has been immensely increased, and I am sure that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer were here he would be the last person to say that in happier times the limit of State assistance has finally been fixed.

I only want in conclusion to emphasize one thing in that connexion—a danger by which the Universities are faced, and one, if I may humbly say so, which all of us who are interested in the Universities must constantly be concerned to foresee and ward off. That danger is surely plain if it were ever to be seriously advanced in Parliament, that with the extension of the aid of the State there should also go some extension of the control of the State. That is, of course, a platitude, but I think it is constantly worth repeating, because it is in my judgment vital that if the Universities fulfil their functions and duties, they must retain the fullest measure of liberty possible. I am bound to say that, as far as I can judge the temper of Parliament, there is at the present day no disposition to challenge that liberty. As long as the Universities can justify to Parliament the work they are doing, so long I think will Parliament be prepared to trust the Universities to do it.

I will now resume my seat, having thanked you for your kindness. It is a pleasure to me to be present here and to be able to attend an educational gathering for the difficulties of whose administration the Board of Education is in no way responsible."

THE STATE MEDICAL FACULTY ELECTION.

Dr. Pramathanath Nandi, M.D., has been elected by the Senate as the University Representative on the State Medical Faculty in the place of Dr. Hassan Suhrawardy, M.D., whose term had expired. Since the establishment of the State Medical Faculty, the University has been represented thereon successively by Sir Nilratan Sircar, Dr. Suresprasad Sarbadhikari and Dr. Hassan Suhrawardy.

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THE UNIVERSITY CONSTITUENCY.

The University seat in the Bengal Legislative Council is likely to be keenly contested this time. The following candidates were duly nominated:

1. Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
2. Rai Sahib Isanchandra Ghose, M.A.
3. Rai Bahadur Jogendrachandra Ghose, M.A, B.L.
4. Babu Bejoykrishna Bose, B.L.
5. Babu Prasannakumar Ray, M.A.
6. Babu Debaprasad Ghose, M.A., B.L.

Rai Sahib Isanchandra Ghosh, it is understood, has withdrawn his candidature.

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AGE LIMIT FOR MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

We have previously published (Vol. II, pages 560-561 and Vol. VII, pages 319-320) the correspondence between the University and the Government on the subject of an age limit for admission to the Matriculation Examination. The matter came up before the Senate for consideration on the 29th September, 1923. Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee moved that "the Senate adhere to the resolution adopted on the 1st July, 1922, namely, that the age restriction for admission to the Matriculation Examination be altogether abolished." After an animated debate of a somewhat discursive character, a division was taken with the result that there was a tie, 17 votes being recorded on each side. The Senate postponed the further consideration of the question till the 24th November next.

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MODERN LANGUAGES AT THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

The Faculty of Arts have unanimously resolved that French and German be included in the list of Second Languages for the Matriculation Examination. This is a move in the right direction and the recommendation of the Faculty will be placed before the Senate for confirmation on the 10th November, 1923.

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LINGUISTICS.

The Board of Higher Studies recently considered, on the suggestion of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the question of the inclusion of Linguistics as a separate subject for the B. A. Examination. Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Professor of Comparative Philology and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Khaira Professor of Linguistics and Phonetics, jointly drew up a provisional scheme. The Board unanimously recommended that Linguistics be included in the list of subjects for the B.A. Examination and that its scope be defined by the following syllabus:

> "This subject can be taken up only by candidates who take up one of the Languages specified in A(1).
>
> The Pass Course in *Linguistics* shall include the General Principles of Linguistic Science, Growth and Development of Languages, Phonetics, the Language—Families of the World, and the Languages of India."
>
> The Honours Course in *Linguistics* shall include the topics prescribed for the Pass Course, to be studied in greater detail. In addition, it

will include the Comparative and Historical Grammar of English, or of the language chosen from A(1), illustrated by selected texts. It shall further include a cognate language to be chosen out of an allied group according to a scheme to be recommended from time to time by the Board of Higher Studies in Comparative Philology. Easy texts in the cognate language shall be prescribed."

The Faculty of Arts approved the proposal on the 5th October, 1923, and the matter will be placed before the Senate at the next meeting for final orders. This change in the Regulations has been long overdue and will fit in with recent development for the promotion of the study of Indian Vernaculars and cognate languages.

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DR. DINESHCHANDRA SEN.

The University Press has ready for immediate publication the first volume of the truly monumental work on Mymensingh Ballads, planned and carried out by Dr. Dineshchandra Sen, notwithstanding his failing health. The volume will be in two parts of nearly five hundred pages each. Lord Ronaldshay has written a foreword which we set out here.

"The Bengali language in its present form is a thing of recent growth. It has been fashioned gradually during the past one hundred years. Less than a century ago the committee of Public Instruction with Macaulay at its head declared that the vernacular language contained neither the literary nor the scientific information necessary for a liberal education. Nor was this all. For not only was the Bengali language of that day considered by Englishmen to be inadequate to the needs of the times, but it was also looked down upon by cultured Bengalis themselves; and it is on record that a suggestion made by an Englishman, Mr. Adam, that some at least of the lectures to be delivered in the educational institutions which were then being established might be given in Bengali, was vetoed by the Indian members of his committee on the ground that anything said or written in the vernacular would be despised in consequence of the medium through which it was conveyed. With these estimates of the vernacular language of Bengal less than a hundred years ago, contrast the description of it given recently by Mr J. D. Anderson as "one of the great expressive languages of the world capable of being the vehicle of as great things as of any speech of men."

A language capable of undergoing so great a transformation in so short a time must, surely, have been sound at the roots. What of the seed which was garnered and cultivated by those great gardeners in the philological field—Rajendralal Mitra, K. M. Bannerji, Ramkamal Sen, Isvar Chandra Gupta, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Dinabandhu Mitra, Akshay Kumar Datta, to mention but a few? It is a matter of common knowledge that such vernacular literature as flourished at the beginning of the 19th century was in verse rather than in prose and was the possession of the masses rather than of the classes. A peculiar interest attaches, therefore, to any specimens of this literature which can now be collected. I have just read Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen's translation of a ballad of Eastern Bengal entitled "Mahua." Here is a delightful specimen of the seed from which modern Bengali has sprung. It is charming in English; but from the point of view from which I have written above, it is the language in which the ballad is sung that is of a paramount interest and importance.

Mahua is but one of a large number of ballads now being collected, arranged, translated and commented on with the untiring interest of the enthusiast and the skill of the expert scholar, by Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen. And it is obvious that in addition to the philological interest attaching to such a collection it must possess also a special interest in respect of its subject matter. And here the Englishman unacquainted with the technique of the Bengali language can appreciate the ballads to the full in their English translation.

For it is in such compositions that one finds sketched with an unconscious and for that reason, perhaps, an all the truer pen, intimate pictures of the life of a people. And since these ballads are believed to cover a period of roughly three hundred years from the 16th century onwards, they should throw much light surely upon the political history of Bengal. For it was during this period that Moslem influence was pushed eastwards, the Moslem capital transferred by Nawab Islam Khan from Rajmahal to Dacca, and colonies of Moslem feudal barons planted out in the eastern districts. In short these ballads should prove a mine of wealth alike to the philologist and the historian and last, but not least, to the administrator who seeks to penetrate the inner thought and feeling of the people."

The scope of the work may be gathered from the following introductory letter addressed by Dr. Dineshchandra Sen to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee:

"*I take the liberty of dedicating to you this treasure of the old songs of Mymensing, dearly prized by me, as without your patriotic advocacy of the cause of our vernacular in the face of the great impediments and difficulties with which our* Alma Mater *is beset at this moment, there would never have been any chance of their being collected and published.*

In these ballads, the most prominent feature is the presentation of the Bengali woman in a variety of aspects, true as truth itself and vivid as life. When face to face with danger, she often appears like the awe-inspiring and implacable goddess Kali, fiercely dancing on the funeral pyre or riding the storm. In the quieter moments of life, she is like the harvest goddess Laksmi—an embodiment of feminine grace and modesty and of all that is noble and good in the domestic region. In her great trials, she reveals the shining qualities of her character like gold purified by fire; and when complications arise turning her lifr into a problem *of insoluble difficulty, her sweet voice is heard murmuring evermore the tale of her devotion like the voice of the goddess Ganga from the matted locks of Siva. She proves by her character that the deities worshipped by Bengali Hindus are born of the exalted human ideals of Bengal. Though she belongs to the age gone by, there is nothing that is crude about her,—she is fresh as a flower blown to-day. Absolutely free from all mere conventionality, she sings, lark-like, a free song in the infinite space of her heavenly virtue, showing the supreme triumph of love over all material forces. She is a voice from the past that is true for all ages; and though she hails from this tropical region of Bengal and has derived from its soil the warmth and geniality of her nature, her grand outbursts of noble indignation and her fierce revenge when wronged are like the storm-wind of the equinox. In some cases, however, she is a picture of patient suffering,—bearing without protest or complaint those ills which would chill the very life-blood of others. In these cases she still displays the saving graces of love and faith,—her spirit being akin to the frozen north, hallowed and redeemed by a mellow solar light. Everywhere she makes a universal appeal by the intensity and directness of those humane qualities which will be appreciated wherever truth and devotion are prized. She is the eternal symbol of love and sweetness, of strength and resignation—a mute sufferer of the persecution that has ever been the lot of the beautiful and the true in all ages—like a flower torn by wanton hands or broken by the storm—who, nevertheless, has always won and will never cease to win the admiring love of gods and men.*

In these days, Sir, when in the more favoured soil of culture and liberty, women are strenuously fighting for an equal footing with men in every respect, one wonders if the fair ones are resolved, like the old Siva in a well-known mythological tale, once more to reduce the god of love to ashes by the dart of their indignant glances. Until, however, *that result is achieved, marriage-laws may alter and political hobbies may prevail, but the two sexes will continue to be inevitably linked by the freaks of that lively deity who presides over the human heart. These ballads shew the ever-conquering power of love,—marriage laws playing a mere subservient part in them. They belong to no church or temple but voice the eternal truths of humanity and as such are not, I venture to hope, likely to clash with the ideas of the advanced womanhood of our own times, who carry the banner of liberty and individualism.*

I hope the interest of this book will be sustained in the future volumes containing more of these ballads."

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PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNAN.

Professor Radhakrishnan who has already established his reputation as a clear thinker on abstruse philosophical topics by his books on "The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore" and "Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy" has just published the first volume of a comprehensive work on Indian Philosophy in the well known series, edited by Professor Muirhead and called Library of Philosophy. The work is a great deal more than a history of Indian Philosophy; it is an attempt, and we venture to think a brilliant attempt, to interpret Indian Philosophy. We shall publish in due course a review of this great work. Meanwhile, our readers will be glad to read the following letter which has been addressed by Viscount Haldane to Professor Radhakrishnan:

CLOAN, AUCHTERARDER,
PERTHSHIRE,
7th September, 1923.

DEAR PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNAN,

Thank you for your gift of Vol. I of your new History of Indian Philosophy. The book reached me on August 1, and I brought it down here, and have read it through.

I congratulate you on the accomplishment of the most difficult half of a great undertaking. You have presented the evolution with admirable lucidity, and your wide knowledge of western thought has enabled you to show Indian thought as concerned with the same problems and as converging to analogous solutions. Your account of Buddhism and of its profound influence on subsequent philosophical work on India, has interested me deeply. I have been struck also with your comparison of the method and outlook of Nagarjuna, writing about 400 A.D., with Bradley's view in Appearance and Reality. All philosophy, if it is only sufficiently thorough, appears to me to tend in the same direction. Your book brings this out as no other has. For most of the writers on Indian Philosophy have dealt with it without sufficient knowledge of contemporary work on the West. For the first time, I think, you have brought the two streams of tendency under an adequate common view.

Your book should exercise influence here, and I will try to get attention directed to it.

I am struck in reading your pages with a certain divergence in method between the East and the West. Here the problem of reality is being brought under a new method of investigation which has not so far made itself apparent in Indian Systems. Space and time are receiving a new meaning and the investigation which results in this is one of mathematical logic. In the result there appears diminution of the gap between metaphysics and physics and Einstein, although his insight into the mathematical question has been that of genius, has not dealt with this side of the subject. It is, I think, best approached in Prof. Whitehead's 'concept of nature,' a difficult but illuminating book. Whitehead although primarily a mathematical physicist is a born metaphysician. He is consequently able to carry the inquiry into the meaning of space and time further than others, and in my view the principle of the relativity of knowledge gets a new significance along these lines.

But something of the kind you yourself are conscious of in your book. It is the minute method of Western Thought that seems to me capable of further relation to that of the Upanishad metaphysicians.

Yours sincerely,
Sd. HALDANE.

* * *

PHILOSOPHY IN INDIA AND CHINA.[1]

The following contribution from the pen of the Hon'ble Mr. Bertrand Russell, the famous mathematician and philosopher, published in the *Nation* and the *Athenaeum*, 15th September, 1923, will interest many of our readers :

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[1] Indian Philosophy By S. Radhakrishnan, Vol. 1. (Allen and Unwin, 21S.) ; Chu Hsi and His Masters By J. Percy Bruce. (Probsthain, 24S.)

"From a cultural as opposed to an economic and political point of view, nothing could be a greater mistake than to regard Asia as a unity. It is scarcely too much to say that India and China differ from each other more than either differs from Europe. One may say, broadly, that India resembles Europe from the time of Constantine to the fourteenth century, while China resembles the pre-Christian Roman Empire and the eighteenth century.. Of course such analogies must not be pressed, but as a preliminary scaffolding they may serve a purpose. The Chinese civilization is peculiar among the great civilizations of the world in having never experienced the mood of Ecclesiastes, in spite of external circumstances which might have encouraged such a mood. Chinese philosophers have not been prone to consider that all is vanity; our terrestrial existence, with its pleasures and duties, has seemed to them sufficient to justify itself, provided men would practise courtesy and benevolence and moderation, for which no supernatural sanction was sought, except sometimes in a perfunctory and conventional manner. In this respect they resemble the Greeks of the great age, and the Romans down to the age of Augustus; they also resemble the eighteenth century, with its bland rationalism and its merely conventional religion. They are of all great nations the least religious.

In India, on the contrary, the religious outlook has been more profound and universal than anywhere else in the world. After the period of the Vedas, which still show the primitive joy of life appropriate to Aryan conquerors, the characteristics of all subsequent Indian thought already appear in the Upanishads. They may be summed up as disenchantment, mysticism, and subjectivism. The purpose of life, according to the Upanishads, is to realize the true Self (Atman), which is identical with the one real Being, Brahman. Their philosophy is a mystic pantheism, derived rather from meditation on the soul than from a study of the outer world. Professor Radhakrishnan quotes: "The self-existent pierced the openings of the senses so that they turn outwards; therefore man looks outward, not inward into himself; some wise man, however, with his eyes closed and wishing for immortality, saw the self behind." This true self is not individual, not one thing in me and another thing in you, but universally the same, the one ultimate reality, of which the traditional polytheistic gods are mere manifestations. The good life is the one which enables us to realize our oneness with Brahman and overcome the illusion of a separate personal self. In our ordinary life, three states are distinguished: waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep; of these the third comes nearest to the ideal, though it is too negative to be actually the ideal.

Early Buddhism, while retaining and emphasizing the vanity of earthly desires, is peculiar among religions in the fact that its philosophy is purely phenomenalistic; in Europe, no such rational philosophy existed until modern times. The category of substance is extruded; there are no permanent beings in the world. The self is no more than the series of its thoughts and feelings. This rational philosophy is combined with an extreme pessimism as to ordinary life, leading to the view that freedom from desire is the only salvation.

As a popular religion, however, Buddhism became something quite different from this. In India, it made so many compromises with the traditional faiths that in the end it became indistinguishable from them, and perished because it had no longer any *raison d'être.* In China, in the Mahāyāna form, it became a cheerful polytheism, with a host of laughing Bodhisattvas whose innumerable statues adorn the temples. In the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., it nearly submerged the traditional Confucianism, which was revived by the Sung philosophers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, who form the subject of Dr. Bruce's volume. These philosophers may be compared to the schoolmen in Europe ; like them, they came after a dark age, and established a philosophy based upon ancient classics. But unlike the schoolmen, they were better technical philosophers (though not greater men) than their nominal masters. Confucius and Mencius are moralizers rather than metaphysicians. The orthodoxy which they founded killed a great deal of interesting speculation which is only now beginning to be adequately studied. There is an important book by Dr. Hu Shihi " The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China" (Shanghai, Oriental Book Co.), which deals with Chinese philosophy before 200 B.C. This book, by a man of profound learning who is in revolt against Confucian and every other orthodoxy, at last does justice to the early philosophers whom Confucianism consigned to obloquy. As against Chinese Buddhism, however, Confucianism was valuable, since it was relatively rational and free from superstition. Chu Hsi, the hero of Dr. Bruce's book, was its Thomas Aquinas. He fixed the orthodox interpretation of the sacred texts down to modern times. Having been in his youth a Buddhist, he remained through life more metaphysical than he would have been but for the influence of a tradition derived from India ; but his metaphysics is mild and mundane in comparison with that of any Indian sect. He believed in a dualism, not of matter and mind in the Certesian sense, but rather of matter and form in the Aristotelian sense—at least, this seems the nearest analogue to be found in Western philosophy. This dualism, however, was not absolute ; above it stood a first principle called the Supreme Ultimate, on the ground of which Dr. Bruce refutes the charge that he was an atheist.

Professor Radhakrishnan's first volume only takes us to the decay of Buddhism in India, after dealing with the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the Hindu contemporaries of the early Buddhists. His work is admirably done, though perhaps, for English readers, it would have been well to give more account of the political history which accompanied the successive schools of philosophy. One of the main documents of Buddhism is the "Questions of King Milinda"; this was the Greek King Menander, of the end of the second century B.C. The Western reader wishes to know what influence Greek philosophy had on Buddhism, the more so as Buddhist art suffered a powerful Hellenic influence; but on this subject the book contains no information.

Dr. Bruce's book deals with a more restricted topic, but is interesting because the Sung philosophers are apt to be neglected by British sinologues. Their merit as philosophers is probably no greater than that of our schoolmen, but their historical importance is considerable, because they fixed the standard of Confucian orthodoxy for many centuries. Dr. Bruce's account of their lives and teachings is interesing and readable: the present reviewer cannot judge of its scholarship, but knows of no reason to question it."

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DR. MEGHNAD SAHA.

Dr. Meghnad Saha has been appointed Professor of Physics in the University of Allahabad and has consequently resigned the Khaira Professorship of Physics in this University. We have heard regret expressed in some quarters at his resignation. Dr. Saha had a distinguished career as a student in this University. He passed the M. Sc. Examination in 1915 and was awarded the University Silver Medal. His merit was recognised at the earliest moment by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and every effort was made to give him opportunity for original work. He was awarded one of the Research Scholarships founded by Sir Rashbehari Ghosh, and a little later he was appointed to a University Lectureship which is in the nature of a Research Fellowship in British Universities. He took his D. Sc. in 1919. He was also awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship and the Guruprasanna Ghose Scholarship in the same year. This enabled him to pursue higher studies in Germany. He was awarded the Griffith Prize in 1920.

On receipt of the magnificent endowment, created by Kumar Guruprasad Singh of Khaira, the University reserved one of the Chairs for Physics, and Dr. Saha was appointed thereto for a term of five years. He entered upon the discharge of his duties as Khaira Professor on the 7th November, 1921. The salary attached to the Chair was Rupees Five Hundred a month. Since July last, a house allowance of Rupees One Hundred a month was added thereto. Dr. Saha, however, was evidently not content, and it was rumoured from time to time that he was on the look-out for an appointment with a higher salary at Aligarh, Benares and Allahabad. In June last he addressed a letter to the Syndicate in the following terms :

> "I beg to inform you that I have been offered the Chair of Physics at the Benares Hindu University on a salary of Rs. 750-50-1,000 plus many other advatages for continuing my research work.
>
> I am, however, willing to continue to serve my Alma Mater, provided the University is willing to grant me a graded scale of pay, namely. Rs. 650-50-1,000 plus Rs. 15,000 to be placed immediately at my disposal as my personal research grant.
>
> I have only one week's time to consider the Benares offer; I shall, therefore, be highly obliged if you kindly let me have your reply at the earliest opportunity."

The Syndicate resolved :

> "That Dr. Saha be informed that in view of the present financial position of the University and in view of the claims of the other University teachers, his request cannot be complied with."

We have no knowledge of the negotiations he had with the authorities either at Benares or at Allahabad. But on the 11th September last, he addressed another letter to the Syndicate stating that he had been appointed Professor at Allahabad on a salary of Rs. 800—1,250. On the recommendation of the Board of Management of the

Khaira Fund, the Syndicate and the Senate have accepted his resignation. We are not here concerned with the ethical or legal aspect of the matter ; we venture to maintain that it is not to the best interests of a University that a Professor, however eminent, who is constantly on the look-out for a more lucrative appointment elsewhere, should continue to hold his Chair. In our present financial condition, it is plain that considerable self-sacrifice is needed on the part of a distinguished young scholar who undertakes work here.

Luckily, there are still some men left who are prepared to make a sacrifice for the sake of their Alma Mater, in recognition of the benefits they have received. At the same time, it is idle to ignore the patent fact that this competition on the part of Universities, which are in receipt of large grants from the public funds, places this University at a disadvantage. The authorities of our University, however, cannot be held responsible for the situation. The people of Bengal must determine for themselves whether they will provide funds so as to enable the University to retain our Professors and Lecturers here in spite of allurement of better financial prospect elsewhere. We find that Dr. Meghnad Saha applied to the Syndicate for permission to take away to Allahabad a number of valuable instruments from the laboratory of the University College of Science. The Syndicate have refused the application. No other course could conceivably have been taken.

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Mr. J. C. Sinha.

Mr. Jogischandra Sinha, University Lecturer in the Departments of Economics and Commerce, has resigned his appointment here with a view to take up the work of a Reader in the University of Dacca. Dacca is able to offer him nearly double of what he received here. Comment is superfluous.

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Mr. M. K. Ghosh.

Mr. M. K. Ghosh, M.A., B.Com., of the Departments of Economics and Commerce, has resigned his appointment here to take up the work of Reader in the University of Allahabad. Allahabad is able to pay him very nearly double of what he received here. Remarks are needless.

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Dr. S. K. Mitra.

Dr. Sisirkumar Mitra, University Lecturer in the Department of Physics and Sir Rashbehari Ghose Travelling Fellow, who is now in France, has been appointed Khaira Professor of Physics in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Dr. Meghnad Saha. Dr. Mitra had a distinguished career and is a Doctor of Science not only of this University but also of the University of Paris. He is one of the extremely limited number of Indian Scientists whose original researches have been communicated to the Academie des Sciences, Paris. The following record speaks for itself:

Academic Career.

1912, M.Sc., Calcutta.	First Class, Gold Medallist.
1912	Matilal Mallik Medallist.
1912-15	Lecturer in Physics, Bankura and Bhagalpur Colleges.
1916	Sir Rashbehary Ghose Research Scholar and Assistant to University Professor in Physics.
1917-1923	University Lecturer in Physics.
1920	Doctor of Science, Calcutta University.
1921-22	Guruprasanna Ghose Foreign Scholar.
1922 23	Sir Rashbehary Ghose Travelling Fellow.
1923	Sc.D. of Paris University.

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Publications.

Title of Paper.	When and where published.
1. On the Asymmetry of the Illumination-Curves in Oblique Diffraction.	Philosophical Magazine, January, 1918.
2. Sommerfield's Diffraction Problem.	Philosophical Magazine, January, 1919.
3. On the Large Angle Diffraction by Apertures with Curvilinear Boundaries.	Philosophical Magazine, September, 1919.
4. A New Theory of the Diffraction Figures observed in the Heliometer.	Proceedings of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Vol. VI, 1920.
5. On the Geometrical Treatment of Diffraction Problems.	Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Commemoration Volume, 1921.
6. Determination Des Etalons Spectrascopiques Dans la Region des Petties Longueurs D'Onde.	Annales De Physique, 1923.
7. Sur la desaimantation du fer per des oscillations electro-magnetiques.	Comptes Rendus des Seances de l' Academie des Sciences, Paris, 1923.
8. Sur la decharge a haute frequence dans les gaz rarefies.	Comptes Rendus des Seances de l' Academie des Sciences, Paris, 1923.

As Guruprasanna Ghose Scholar, he worked in the Sorbonne at Paris with Prof. C. Fabry on Spectroscopy, and with Prof. Gutton at Nancy on Electron Tubes, Electrical Oscillations and Discharge, and on Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony. As Rashbehary Ghose Travelling Fellow, he worked in Madame Curies Laboratory at Paris, on Radio-Activity.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SCIENCE.

The following letter has been addressed by the Syndicate to the Government of Bengal with a view to secure financial assistance for the University College of Science :

No. G. 225.

SENATE HOUSE,
The 28th September, 1923.

FROM

J. C. CHAKRAVORTI, ESQ., M.A.
Offg. Registrar, University of Calcutta,

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

SIR,

I am directed to invite reference to this Office letter No. A-850, dated the 3rd July, 1923, forwarding copy of the budget estimates for the year 1923-24, and to request you to move the Government of Bengal for a grant of Rs. 1,45, 00 to the University to cover the estimated deficit as disclosed therein.

I am to point out, at the outset, that a sum of Rs. 2,45,802 has been provided for the University College of Science of Technology under the following heads :—

1.	Salary of Professors, Assistant Professors, Demonstrators, Laboratory Assistants, and Menials.	..	Rs. 1,30,062
2.	Laboratory Expenses and Research grant	...	„ 57,600
3.	Workshop	...	„ 10,740
4.	Repairs to Buildings	...	„ 30,000
5.	Scholarship	...	„ 17,400
	Total	...	Rs. 2,45,802

The expenditure in connection with the University College of Science is met out of the Sir Rashbehary Ghose and Sir Taraknath Palit Funds supplemented by the Government grant of Rs. 12,000 a year and contributions from the Fee Fund. The contribution from the Fee Fund has amounted to Rs. 10,59,266 from the foundation of the College up to 30th June, 1923, while the Government grant for the period has been only Rs. 1,32,000. The Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate, therefore, feel no hesitation in approaching the Government with the request that a sum of Rs. 1,45,00 should be advanced out of the public funds to ensure that the work of the College, brought into existence by the splendid generosity of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehary Ghose with the object of aiding the intellectual and industrial development of the country, may not suffer for want of funds.

I am to invite the attention of the Government in this connexion to the previous correspondence on the subject and particularly to this Office letter No. G-345, dated the 5th February, 1921, which concluded with the request that provision might be made for a capital grant of Rupees Ten Lakas for the development of technological studies in connexion with the University College of Science, in addition to the grant of Rs. 1,25,000 for the salary of Post-Graduate Teachers. It is realised, however, that the present resources of the Government of Bengal will not permit them to comply with this request, but, at the same time, the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate feel that they are justified in requesting the Government to help the University with a small grant of Rs. 1,45,000 for the purposes indicated below :—

Workshop	Rs. 50,000
Repairs and alterations	„ 30.000
Equipment of Laboratory	„ 65,000

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient servant,
J. C. CHAKRAVORTI,

Offg.

* * *

PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION IN LAW.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 914 of whom 341 passed, 333 failed and 240 were absent. Of the successful candidates 21 were placed in the First Division and 320 in the Second.

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INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN LAW.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 590 of whom 373 passed, 95 failed and 122 were absent. Of the successful candidates 42 were placed in the First Division and 331 in the Second.

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FINAL EXAMINATION IN LAW.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 761 of whom 242 passed, 180 failed and 339 were absent. Of the successful candidates 10 were placed in the First Division and 232 in theSecond.

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AWARD OF MEDALS AND PRIZES.

On the results of the Final and Intermediate Examinations in Law held in January and July, 1923, the following Prizes and Medals were awarded:

The *Ritchie Prize* for January, 1923, to be divided amongst Manindranath Gan, Muhammad Ghyasuddin and Mihirkumar Mukhopadhay, all of the University Law College.

The *Parbaticharan Ray Medal* for January, 1923, to Sachindrakumar Ray of the Ripon Law College.

The *Ritchie Prize* for July, 1923, to be divided between Prasadchandra Bandoyadhay of the Ripon Law College and Syamapada Chattopadhay of the University Law College.

The *Parbaticharan Ray Medal* for July, 1923, to Syamaprasad Mukhopadhay of the University Law College.

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FINAL M.B. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the Examination was 26 of whom 6 passed and 20 failed.

The number of candidates registered for Part I of the Examination was 225 of whom 107 passed, 114 failed, one was expelled and three were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part II of the Examination was 188 of whom 149 passed, 38 failed and one was absent.

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FIRST M. B. HONOURS EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the Honours Examination in Anatomy was 11 of whom 9 were absent and 2 passed; for the Honours Examination in Physiology was 9 of whom 8 were absent and 1 failed; for the Honours Examination in Pharmacology was 10 of whom 7 were absent, 1 passed and 2 failed.

Westel Woodbury Willoughby, Ph.D.

Tagore Professor of Law, 1923

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

DECEMBER, 1923

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD AS APPLIED TO THE STUDY OF POLITICS

Speculation with reference to matters political has flourished since the time when men first reached a stage of intellectual development which caused them to be at all conscious regarding the forces and institutions to whose influences and control they have been subjected. But a truly scientific examination of these forces and institutions has been a product of slow growth; and it is, indeed, only within very recent years that there has been a recognition of the fact that political life exhibits a series of phenomena and a group of principles which, by their very nature, are marked off from the phenomena and principles which furnish the material of study for the other social sciences, and which require a specialized training for their accurate ascertainment and interpretation.

That, as compared with some of the other departments of human inquiry, political science should have suffered from an undue retardation of its scientific development, is perhaps not surprising when account is taken of the peculiar difficulties which has beset its path, and of the special temptations which allure its students from the straight and narrow path which alone leads to truth. Of the idols of the forum and of the market-place I do not need to speak: they are sufficiently obvious even if they are not always avoided. Many there are who resolve, as did Spinoza, that they will take pains "not to laugh at the actions of mankind, not to groan over them, not to be angry with them, but to understand them," and who yet are not able to exclude from their premises and reasoning objective elements which vitiate their conclusions.

In addition to this hindrance to objective political thinking which arises out of the fact that the student and investigator is often unable wholly to divorce himself from the prejudices and preconceptions which are born of the environment in which he lives, there is the further obstacle to accurate political reasoning due to the circumstances that this reasoning has to be carried on in a language which lacks scientific preciseness. In other words, it has not been feasible for the political scientist to create a special nomenclature, such, for example, as is employed by the chemist or the biologist, in which each expression is what is called a "term of art." Instead, the political scientist is obliged to use words of common use and which therefore often have a variety of shifting connotations.

The errors that arise from this source are many and serious, for, as Bentham has somewhere said, every improperly used term "contains the germ of fallacious propositions," and "forms a cloud which conceals the nature of the things and presents a frequently invincible obstacle to the discovery of truth."

It is not probable that political science will ever wholly escape from the handicap thus, in common with the other social sciences, imposed upon it; but, with a more diligent cultivation of the field of analytical political theory, it may hope to obtain for its chief concepts terms which, when technically used, are exact and therefore without adventitious connotations. Certainly, until this is done, the scientific method, as applied to the study of political science, will not yield its fullest results.

As distinguished from a mere aggregate of miscellaneous truths, a science embraces a corpus of facts and principles which are classified and united by logical ligaments, so that together they constitute a single whole. But such an ordering of material is not possible until there have been obtained precise definitions upon which these classifications may be based; and these definitions cannot be arrived at until the institutions and forces have been analyzed so that their essential characteristics, as distinguished from their accidental qualities, have been determined; and not until this has been done, will it be possible to construct a terminology, each member of which will, when technically used, be a term of art. Then and only then will such fundamental political concepts as state, government, law, sovereignty, right, duty, obligation, and the like receive such an exact meaning that they may serve as the counters for truly scientific thinking.

The first point, then, to be made in any discussion of the scientific method as applied to the study of politics is, that it is imperative that, by means of what is called analytical political theory, the basis should be laid for the definitions and classifications by means of which political phenomena may be accurately described and brought together into a logical and scientific whole.

The second point to be urged is the necessity of viewing the State—that great institution which, in its various forms of organization and operation, furnishes the material with which the political scientist has to deal—of viewing this, the greatest institution which man has created for his own welfare, in a purely rationalistic light. This may seem, to some at least, a task of supererogation. It may be alleged that in all realms of thought, including that of politics, reason has been substituted for prejudice, and intellectual liberty and scientific truth have taken the places of authority and tradition. In truth, however, it may be questioned whether this assertion, with reference to political theories at least may, with accuracy, be thus broadly made. What, for example, shall we say of those who accept the doctrine that what a people by popular vote freely determine must necessarily be right—*vox populi, vox Dei*; of those who speak of the State as a natural product, or as an organism (except purely analogically); or who see in government something more than a means to an end, something more than a form of political rule, which, like all other forms in which public authority may be exercised and controlled, requires to be justified by its results? What shall we say of those who identify patriotism with an approval of one's own government in all international controversies, whatever the merits of the case may be? What shall we say of those who would determine the sphere of governmental authority by *a priori* assumptions regarding natural rights, and not wholly by considerations of enlightened expediency? Surely it need not be argued that in these, and in other directions, there persist, not simply in the minds of the general public, but in the thinking of many political theorists, ideas that are not essentially rational in character. Were it not for the fact that I have already spent too much time on this point I would like to go on to show the extent to which vicious elements of unreason still persist in our legal thinking:—How we are prone to elevate our own system of law into realms where reason no longer abides, by transforming formal conceptions of law, as developed by the courts, into immutable principles of justice and right, with a result that the substance of our law is held bound within the conceptions of social justice and abstract justice which have long since ceased to be held. That reason of the law of which Coke spoke in his famous reply to King James was but an artificial reason, as indeed, Coke himself termed it, that is, a formal interconsistency of its parts, and many of its doctrines are in truth, predicated upon assumptions without inherent or absolute validity, but which have been accepted and developed by the courts in response to conceived social requirements which, if they ever truly existed, no longer obtain. Thus the right of private property is too often treated as of so fundamental and inherent, one might almost say of so sacrosanct, a character, as to support the doctrine that any substantial interference with it is, necessarily, a profane act—a violation of the holy of holies of civilized life. Rationally viewed, the recognition by the State and by society of the rights of private ownership can of course, be justified morally, politically, and socially only by the results that flow from its recognition. I am here, of course, stating this point as a general proposition, and not in the light of the special constitutional protection given to private rights by written instruments of government. Special influence caused the English common law, during its most formative period, to assume a strongly individualistic character, and it is one of the most pressing problems of the day to determine the extent to which the doctrines thus developed shall be judicially modified or legislatively changed. To a considerable extent they are entrenched behind consitutional or traditional provisions, and especially behind the requirement that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. But even if this be so the principles thus guaranteed against ordinary legislative violence should not be erected into apodictic moral judgments not subject to change ; for all law, like the State itself which enforces it, is a human contrivance created and maintained solely as a means to an end. Machiavelli's *Prince* may not furnish us with an ideal code of political morality, but in its objective character, in its rigorous exclusion of theological and mystical conception, in its treatment of political rulership as a subject to be governed by wholly rational and utilitarian considerations, it is a treatise that may well serve as an exemplar of scientific political thinking.

In very truth, it would seem that there exists in the minds of many, not only of the unthinking but of the learned, a tendency to form what may be described as a mystical conception of the State—a conception which sets the State apart from other human institutions and views it as an entity existing in and of itself, and thus, by its very nature, exempted from the requirement that, like every other human instrumentality, it shall justify its existence, and its modes of operation by the criteria of justice and utility which enlightened reason imposes. Thus the existence and prosperity of the State is often described as an end in itself, and not merely as a means to an end; and its sphere of authority is declared to be determinable not by the considerations of secular expediency or by the rules of ordinary ethical obligation, but by the postulation of qualities which are transcendant and super-personal in character. I am not here speaking of the old theory of the divine right of kings, but of that more subtle but none the less potent conception which envisages the State as an object, the existence, organisation, and ends of which are not wholly determined by considerations of the welfare of the people over whom its authority extends. Lord Morley in his *Life of Gladstone*, in the chapter in which he examines Gladstone's theories of Church and State, after asking whether the visible church is a purely human creation "changing with time and circumstance, like all the other creations of the heart and brain and will of man," describes the doctrine of the high Anglican and the Roman Catholic as one according to which the church is "not a fabric reared by man, nor, in truth, any mechanical fabric at all, but a mystically appointed channel of salvation, an indispensable element in the relation between the soul of man and its creator. To be a member of it was not to join an external association, but to become an inward partaker in ineffable and mysterious graces to which no other access lay open. Such was the church Catholic and Apostolic as set up from the beginning, and of this immense mystery, of this saving agency, of this incommensurable spiritual force, the established Church of England was the local presence and the organ."

Of the value and truth of such a conception as this in the ecclesiastic field, I do not need to speak. But when a somewhat similar conception is brought into the political field and applied to the State, the confines of scientific thinking are exceeded. In fact, however, this essentially mystical conception of the State has found a place in present political thinking—not often explicitly, but often implicitly—and to this cause is due not a little of the confused thinking with regard to the nature of loyalty, allegiance, political obligation, and the legitimacy of the means which the State may employ for the realisation of its ends—as well, indeed, as of the legitimacy of those ends themselves.

From what I have said, it will have been seen that the scientific method, when deductively applied to the study of methods political, is of a twofold character. Upon the one side it is analytical or juristic; upon the other side it is teleological and ideal. Upon the first of these sides the State is viewed as a legal institution and as operating wholly in and through law; and the attempt is made to determine, by analysis, the essential characteristics of all political institutions, as thus viewed, and thus to make possible the construction of a science of public law—that is, a system of constitutional jurisprudence which has to deal with the relations between the State and its subjects, and an international jurisprudence which is concerned with the relations of States to one another.

Upon the second side, the effort of deductive political thinking is to interpret political institutions and forces by the ends or purposes for which they exist, and thus to define the State and all lesser political instrumentalities in terms of their ends, and to determine what their activities and organisation should be, rather than to describe their forms and functions as they actually are.

Turning now to the inductive side, it may be said that politics is an observational rather than an experimental science. That is to say, it is but seldom possible, or desirable if possible, to engage in deliberate experimentation as does the physicist or the chemist or the biologist. Its data must, then, be that which is afforded by an intelligent observation of political institutions and forces as they are to be found all over the world. In the *use* of this material, however, the method of the political scientist is exactly that of the student of physical phenomena. Accidental characteristics are to be distinguished from essential qualities, differences and likenesses are to be noted, results traced back to their true causes, and predictions founded upon the principle that like causes will produce like results. In this last field, however, the presence of a number of concomitant causes, as well as the influence of modifying environment, make impossible, in most cases, that certainty of prediction which obtains in many of the statements of investigators in the so-called exact sciences. But none the less, it is to be repeated, the method is the same; and, though possibly with greater difficulty, we can trace political results back to their true causes, and establish principles of governmental organization and standards of administrative efficiency that must be observed if a satisfactory conduct of public affairs is to be obtained.

Political inductions must be predicated upon data laboriously gathered, and carefully analyzed and classified. In order that this data may be adequately interpreted, the historical and comparative methods must be resorted to. The field to be cultivated thus broadens out into a broad domain, and the harvest that awaits the gathering is great, and one that has as yet been in but small part garnered. The machineries of government which States have developed or created for themselves—national, city and local, colonial, and imperial —have received careful and accurate treatment in numerous treatises, and the systems of constitutional law which govern the operation and interrelation of their several parts have been scientifically exposed, but other portions of the field of descriptive and statistical politics have remained largely untilled. Thus the political scientist, when seeking inductive conclusions with reference to such an important matter as the suffrage, does not know, in many cases, the exact number of those who are legally qualified to exercise it. He does not know what proportion of the various classes who are legally qualified do in fact exercise their right; we are as yet essentially ignorant of the results of woman suffrage where it has been tried; we do not know in any exact way the extent and character of crime; we have insufficient judicial statistics; we are by no means sufficiently informed regarding the financial results flowing from the various activities of the State in its character as *Fiskus*. In these and very many important subjects of political inquiry the political scientist is obliged to rely upon the most inadequate data. Most of this information is of a character or extent that renders it impossible of collection by individuals. It is beyond either their financial abilities, or requires an expenditure of time which it is impossible for them to give to it. The work of collecting it is, for the most part, one that requires co-operative effort.

The practical problems of political life, in their larger aspects, vary from age to age. With the establishment in England of a strong, centralized, national monarchy, the problem at once arose of so controlling the exercise of political powers that the life, liberty, and property of the citizen might be fairly protected against arbitrary and oppressive action upon the part of the monarch, and the struggle to secure this condition of political life cannot be said to have been fairly crowned with success until the end of the seventeenth century. Upon the Continent of Europe, the development of strong, centralized monarchies came much later than it did in England, and it is only within comparatively recent years that it can be said that this reconciliation of political power with civil liberty has been substantially secured.

This has been the problem of constitutional government, and at the present time it may be said that in all modern civilized States, government by law has been substituted for government by men, and, whatever the actual distribution of political power, the general principle is recognized that the welfare of the people rather than of those in whose hands the exercise of public authority happens to be vested, is the end to be secured.

Broadly speaking, the great political problem which now seeks solution, is that of administrative efficiency. It is conceded that government is to be one of law and not of arbitrary personal will, and that the general welfare is the end which is desired. But how shall the government be organized and administered so that this end may be most efficiently and economically realized? In few countries is the importance of this question more pressing than it is in the United States, or, it may be added, more difficult of solution, for, whatever its other merits, a democratic organization of the State is notoriously defective upon its administrative side. Indeed, there would seem to be an antagonism between democratic rule and administrative efficiency which may be described as inherent, and which only the most serious and intelligently directed effort can prevent from leading to most undesirable results.

There is, however, abundant evidence that thinking people are at last fully awake to this great problem. This is shown not simply in the increased attention which is being devoted to political science in academic institutions, but to the fact that, to a constantly increasing extent, expert assistance is being sought in the administration of public affairs, that technically trained officials are being employed, that conditions of fact are scientifically investigated upon which to base legislative policies, that the mechanics of law-making are being improved, that the fiscal operations of governments are being placed upon a proper basis, that the administration of justice is being simplified and rationalized, that administrative orders, where appropriate, are taking the place of ineffective legislative regulations or court decrees, and that administrative responsibility is being substituted for irresponsibility.

It would not be difficult further to extend this enumeration of the evidences of an awakened interest in the scientific study of matters politic. But this is not necessary. The fact is clear before our eyes. But before I finish I would like to say a final word with respect not so much to the scientific *method* as to the scientific *spirit* with which the study of politics should be carried on within academic halls. The very integrity of our intellects demands that we should comprehend and evaluate the phenomena and forces which arise out of our political life. This understanding we should seek—whether or not it may appear that there are immediate practical ends to which the knowledge which we thus seek may be applied. As seekers of scientific truth, our primary duty is not so much the giving of advice with reference to matters of particular import, as it is to obtain an insight into political forces and political institutions that will enable us to establish ultimate rather than proximate ends, and to determine in general the methods by which these may be realized. By this I do not mean that we should be indifferent to the practical political problems which press in such numbers and with such insistence upon us. There rests upon us all the obligation to employ such wisdom as we may have for the benefit of our fellow men. The point which I make is that the aid which we thus give should not be the immediate and proximate aim of our endeavor. Believing as we do that the phenomena with which we have to deal are so many and complex that they cannot be brought into their true relationship to one another without the most careful study, and that the forces of political life cannot be intelligently controlled and directed to the realization of the highest ends of corporate society without a careful collocation of facts and a searching analysis of the characteristics which they present—believing this, we may also believe, I think, that we may best aid in the advancement of the public welfare by seeking scientific truth, whether inductively or deductively obtained, without always bringing into the foreground of our thought the question—what is to be the immediate practical value of the result for which we strive? The science of politics is very much more than a number of solutions of practical political problems. Knowledge is ascertained truth, and truth, though confined between the covers of the formal treatise or learnéd monograph, and stated in technical and abstract form, ultimately finds its way into the class-room, the lecture hall, into the more popular magazines, and the newspapers. Thus is educated that public opinion which, in a popular government, ultimately controls the nation's destiny.

W. W. WILLOUGHBY.

THE NEEDLES

(*Translated by the author from the original Japanese*)

Climb up the pinetree, any of you, get me the needles,
Be quick, get me the needles as many as possible !
I want to let them prick your flesh, and see how your blood
gushes out.
Where is a thing true like the pain of flesh ?
Though I lived with you for some twenty years,
I think I did not feel the absolute honesty with your soul.
So I want now to realize my satisfaction from your flesh.
Oh, will any of you climb up the tree and get me the
needles ?
Big, strong needles as many as you can, mind you !
Where is poetry true like the voice of pain out of the flesh ?
I want to prick your flesh and listen to your true songs.
There's no absoluteness in your soul's voice, it is ever
impaired by compromise.
Come, now ! I will prick your flesh with the needles.
Now, cry, cry, let your flesh sing truly !

A VEIL

A veil of indigo-blue,
With a touch of red,
A veil of purple and yellow
Melting into each other,
A veil of cinnabar and green,
Opens or shuts,
From time to time.
My mind
Which can't see behind the veil,
Shudders,
Confuses,
Bewilders itself.
My soul of song,
Stark and stiff,
Loses his words at last.
But the coldness of night
Revives me,
When I look upward,———
I sing with the moon
To tie together
The heavens and earth.

YONE NOGUCHI

SAVITRI

(*A Dramatic Poem in Five Acts. After a tale in the Mahabharat.*)

[It is evident that the story of Savitri comes down to us from an age when social life was a great deal purer than to-day it is. For certainly in this age no father would send his daughter upon so delicate a mission as king Asvapati sends his daughter, accompanied by her ladies only. No women could take that freedom to-day: if she did, what dangers and ridicule would not await her! But Savitri finds neither and her holy nature opens to love as the lotus opens to the sun.

But it is her fearless venture into the realm of Death for Love's sake, that has made her to all Indian hearts the ideal of virtue in womanhood, Savitri following her husband into the land of Yama, returns the happy conqueress of the Shades. There lies the power of Innocence.]

Personæ Dramatis.

Asvapati,—The king.
His wife.
Savitri—their daughter.
Dyumatsena—The Hermit
His wife
Shotyahan—their son.
Yama—The king of Death
His messengers.
Ladies-in-waiting to Savitri.

ACT I.

[*Scene.*—A palace garden. Savitri sits near a fountain, fondling a young fawn. A peacock stands upon a ballustrade. Savitri's ladies are with her, some sitting, some walking near the flowering bushes. One of them hands her a flower.]

Savitri—

Thanks, sister, oh the tender, sylvan beauty
That lingers in the rose's fragrant heart.
Methinks I hear the very petals whisper,

Ah flowers are the messengers that stand
With fairy greetings between earth and heaven.

A lady—

Behold in grateful bloom this jasmine bush.
Its blossoms strive in eager fond profusion
To ope their virgin petals to the light:
'Tis just a year this month since it was planted
So lovingly by our Savitri's hand.

(*They throw some rose petals on the water of the basin of the fountain.*)

Another lady—

I wonder sometimes if the flow'rs know longing.
The petals float so gaily and it seems
There's love between the roses and the fountain.

Savitri—

Why should it only *seem* so, timid heart?
Know'st thou not that one Ray pervades all nature,
One Force calls all things to existence's light.
That Force is Love. Behold these petals throbbing
Upon these ripples 'neath the sun's fond beam
Thus are we all but flowers in the garden
Of one great God, one all-pervading Love.

One of the ladies—

'Tis heaven where our sweet Savitri lingers
One never tires to hear her silver voice.

Another lady—

Savitri is the joy of all who know her,—
A *devi,* earth's and heaven's pure delight!

(*Enter King Asvapati and his wife—they are in animated conversation—Savitri and her ladies do not as yet notice them.*)

King Asvapati—

Yes, thou art right, the duties of a father
Are making their demands, I must obey.
Ah, it is hard to make this great surrender,
But it were selfish further to delay.
Oh daughter mine, my sweet child, my Savitri,
How fondly round my heart thy life is twined.
Thy gentle footfall is my inspiration,
Thy presence is thy father's very life.

(*He turns towards Savitri. She and her ladies rise and bow.*)

Come thou, my child; the smile of my sweet maiden
Brings peace and joy. Mid all the weary toil
That is a Monarch's lot, I have a beacon,
A guiding star that shows me heav'n itself.

Savitri—

Thou art too fond of me, my noble father.
But in thy heart there still must be a pang.
I know not *all* a blessing was my advent.
Still are my parents praying for a son.

King Asvapati (*laughing*)—

Now, whence that thoughtful mood, my little maiden?
Who gave that new idea to my girl?
No, no my child; no son, however noble,
Could take thy place, my daughter, in my heart.
Thy laugh is sweeter than the Ganga's ripples.
Thy childhood was to me a summer-dream
And now I see my child a blooming maiden.

Queen—

Yes, daughter, thou art growing; life's first spring
Is giving way unto the riper season.
Therefore thy parents are in deep concern,
'Tis duty now to see our daughter married,
Many a stately Prince asks for thy hand.
Among whom gladly we a son had chosen
But does our daughter's heart receive them not
And we would never ask thee to obey us
Against thy own true self. Our only child
Shall make her choice, that has been our decision.
And now thy sire will tell thee of our plan.

King Asvapati (fondling Savitri)—

Child of my heart, my daughter heaven-given,
Gift of the gods, the Poojah's holy prize
My heart both laughs and weeps at this fond moment.
My house was childless and the empty halls
Seemed all so lonely and so desolated
As the revolving seasons came and went.
Then we performed the sacrifice *Putreshti*
And lo, our call was heard, the gods replied.
They gave a child to us, a golden daughter.
Then seemed no more deserted palace halls,
But rang the walls with childhood's merry laughter
And so the days passed like a golden dream
Until the bud became a half-blown blossom
And know we well that life seeks love when spring
Sends forth its rapture to awaking nature.
Therefore to do thee justice, my fair child,
Thou shalt go forth and seek thy soul's companion.
For youth will find its own where middle age
May err and sometimes stunt young life's fair blossom.
Then go thou on a pilgrimage, my child,
Accompanied by all thy trusted ladies.

We know thy noble mind ; no worthless man
Will find the favour of our pure Savitri.
Therefore we will accept him whom thou choose
And lay our daughter's hand in his in marriage.

Savitri—

Ah, tender, fond concern and confidence !
My parents' loving hearts beat all for me.
And gladly go I,—I owe you obedience,
And pray the gods will send me unto him
Who in past lives before has been my consort;
And grant he know me as I shall know him.

King (*to ladies*)—

And now let me acquaint you with our plan.
The princess goes to-morrow on a journey
Accompanied by you, her ladies all,
Whom all since childhood she has loved and trusted
And promise then to guard my treasure well.
Keep your hearts cheerful, and see that no harm
Will come to her while absent from the home-hearth
Take counsel with her, make the journey bright
For know, the Princess seeks her life's companion
And be it her's to choose with her free will.

Lady—

We promise, oh great king, to do our duty.

King—

Then get all ready now, that with the dawn
All rise and go light-hearted on their mission.

Savitri—

Give us thy blessing ere we wander forth,
The blessing of the King and of the father.

King Asvapati—

I bless thee thousand times, my dearest child,
Thee and thy ladies, whom thou love as sisters.
And go all cheerfully upon the way.
I know the gods will grant their full protection,
And when the quest is ended,—then return
Thrice welcome unto the paternal homestead.

(*The ladies bow and depart; the curtain drops.*)

ACT II.

[*Scene.*—A forest. There are a stream and a bridge on one side and a cottage on the other. Savitri appears with her ladies.]

Savitri—

Oh sylvan beauty, holy forest silence!
Within the heart of nature liveth God.
Here do our Aryan fathers join in worship.
Beneath the grandeur of the heaven's dome
The heart expands, the soul feels her own greatness
Here thoughts of self and limitations flee.
Come, sisters, let us join in morning worship.

(*They kneel down and sing—palms clasped.*)

Song.

Glory to Him, Whom in mute adoration
Mountains and forests there still homage bring
Gather the storm-clouds in trembling ovation
Winds in their courses their high praises ring.
Glory to Him, Glory to Him
Gloria, Glory.

Sing not the heavens Thy undying glory?
Praise unto Thee rises up from the seas.
All the vast worlds move in prayer before Thee
Let our hearts join in fond worship with these.
Glory to Thee, Glory to Thee
Gloria, Glory.

Is all with homage the forest air laden.
Rises an anthem up from the brown sod
Blend we with these the frail voice of each maiden.
Hear Thou our lisping, oh Almighty God.
Glory to Thee, Glory to Thee,
Gloria, Glory.

(*Hermit who has meanwhile appeared and stood listening while they sang*)

Who are these sweet-voiced singers, who in worship
Make ring our forest silence this bright morn ?
Pardon, oh visitors, my rash intrusion.
But made your pious song my heart full glad.
Methinks I hear the voices of fair ladies
For lo, to earthly sights my eyes are closed.
And pray, accept my welcome in the forest
And though my worldly bounties are but small
I place at your command my humble cottage.

A Lady—

We're ladies from Ujjain on pilgrimage
Companions on the journey to our mistress.

(*She leads Savitri forward.*)

Savitri—

Thanks, reverend Sir, for kindly courtesy.

Hermit—

And may I ask the ladies of their mission
And of the boon, which of the gods they seek ?

Savitri—

I am Savitri, Asvapati's daughter,
King of Ujjaina, of the Solar race.

Lady—

The King has sent our Princess on her travels
That she might for herself a husband choose.

Hermit—

Right glad I am to hear such frankly converse.
For open speech is proof of a pure heart.
And matrimony to a holy woman
Is an all sacred, is a heav'nly rite
Only ignoble hearts will hide their purpose
Deceive themselves and hear the flatt'rer's voice.
But the true woman looks upon her husband
As nature's gift, a part of her own soul.
She yields not to an unholy emotion.
But as the lotus soars up to the sun
In all the whiteness of her virgin being
And gladly opes her petals to the light,
Thus, holy, does the lotus-hearted maiden
Know him to whom her inner self belongs
And seeing him step frankly forth to greet him
As children meet who join in peaceful play.
And now, pray, ladies, enter then my cottage,
Accept such humble fair as it does yield.

(*They enter, but Savitri goes to the bridge. She leans over the ballustrade, looking dreamily into the water. On the opposite side of the river stands Shotyaban. He, too, looks into the stream.*)

Shotyaban—

The mountain-stag, when young May's buds are blowing
Looks searching fond into the forest mere
The crane stands dreaming in the silent waters
The wild rose trembles o'er the languid wave.
All nature seeks a mirror, whose reflection
Will unto each the higher self reveal.
And since my boyhood's days, in dreams or waking
I see within the mirror of vast space
A picture fairer than the moonlit waters
The hallowed image of a spirit face.

Savitri—

The forest stream reveals to me a vision
One which in dreams I see amid the stars
I hear a voice from the vast heavens calling.
My trembling heart responds in brotherhood.

(*Shotyaban goes to Savitri on the bridge: they look in silence into each other's eyes.*)

Shotyaban—

The river has revealed to me a secret.
Is it the mirror of my inner self ?

Savitri—

Stars find their own reflection in the waters
When calm controls; and why should we do less ?

Shotyaban—

The wild crane circles searching the blue ether
To find its own by the still mountain lake.
And through the lonely ages souls do wander
Until they meet upon the bridge of life.

Savitri—

And meeting know. From ages long forgotten
From lives lived in the far oblivious past
The echoes ling'ring come, the veil is lifted
Years long gone by lie like an open scroll.

Shotyaban—

I see as thou oblivion's curtain lifted
And for me too the past years reappears
Thou hast been mine, I see my soul's companion
Return to me upon the stream of life.
And like two rivers that are seaward flowing
And of a sudden find a trysting place
And then as one flow onward to the ocean,
Thus meet we now, Savitri, e'en thy name
Comes back to me on wings of mem'ry carried.

Savitri—

And know I that accomplished is my quest.
I sought my spirit's mate and I have found him
And thank I heaven and my guiding star.
Now I return unto my father's palace
One other than of late I wandered forth
My quest now ended, let me then depart.

Shotyaban—

Depart so soon ? And yet I must not hinder
Still all the forest seems so new to me
The world is full of sunlight, and my being
Is all in harmony with God and man.

Savitri—

And sends its rays unto my own heart trembling
Still let us yet our tender secret hide.

But in due time I shall acquaint my parents
And then return unto thy forest home.
Now I shall go within to join my ladies
The journey ended,—we are homeward bound.

(*They go to the door of the cottage. He plucks a rose and gives it to her. She enters the cottage. The curtain drops.*)

ACT III.

[*Scene.*—A Council Hall in King Asvapati's palace. The King and his grave-looking councillors are assembled.]

King—

Then know we, gentlemen, why we're assembled
The princess' future is our grave concern.
For, though I sent my daughter on a journey,
And she in time returned, I see no change.
Therefore called I my councillors together
For may the princess not remain unwed.

First Councillor—

I would advise the oft-tried *swayamvara*,
By which the maiden may make her own choice.
There is much noble blood in Bharatbarsha
We may invite the princes from all parts,
That they display their manly art, their prowess.
Then surely will the lady's heart be stirred.

(*Enters Savitri.*)

Savitri—

Most noble father, pardon my intrusion
I greet thee, Sir, and these, thy worthy friends
For it was duty here for me to enter
No further need is there of the debate.

Thy daughter's fate is sealed, her lord is chosen.
There is but one to whom my heart does go.
Thou knowest Shotyaban, son of the hermit,
Who with his parents in the forest dwells
Him did I meet one early, golden morning
In woodland dell. He knew me as I him.
And from that day the maiden's quest was ended
He is my lord, none other do I know.

(*The king and his Councillors exchange grave looks.*)

King—

This leaves indeed the matter much entangled
I doubt not that thou chose a noble youth
But brings thy choice before us serious questions
We know not how the matter yet will end.

Councillor—

How can a princess reared in palace lux'ries
Retire to the ascetic's cheerless home ?

Savitri—

Sir, I am strong, and no true Hindu maiden
Would trade her virgin heart for worldly gain.

King—

Yes, thou art strong, but thou art young, my daughter
Know'st thou what such a life would mean to thee ?

Councillor—

There's yet another point: the aged hermit
Is of the Brahmin caste, and would he wed
His only son unto a Kṣatrya maiden ?
Here are two points indeed of grave concern.

Savitri—

Fear not, dear friends. When once two souls are blended
Lower conditions must cease to exist.
Caste for the world; pure union for the chosen.
They rise above the littleness of life.

(*Enter Narada, the celestial hermit. King and Councillors rise and bow low in reverence. Attendants come with trays of fruits. Savitri, after paying her respects, steps into the background.*)

King—

Accept our humble greeting, great Narada.
Great honour to my house to see thee here.

Narada (*to King*)—

I saw thee wrangling with perplexing questions
I felt for thee and for thy tender child.
Therefore I came unto the earth descended
From Brahmaloka, the abode of bliss.
Seeing thy daughter's fate hang in the balance
I wished to give her warning in right time.

King—

'Tis well to have thy counsel, great Narada
My daughter chose her consort; chose she well?

Narada—

'Twere better far thy daughter remain single
Than that she wedded were to Shotyaban,
True he's a blameless youth; but list the story
And thou wilt then with my advise agree.
He is no hermit's son, his agéd father
None other is than Dyumatsena,

The Rajput king, who lost his realm in battle
Whose foes drove him from country and from throne,
Who therefore in the forest wilds took refuge
And to the hermit's state his life resigned.
But this were small regret, if here it ended.
Nay—woe, the stricken house has more to face
The angry Fates, when roused, are all relentless.
There hangs a bitter curse o'er Shotyaban
They've but twelve months of nuptial bliss allowed him.
He will survive his bridal but *one* year.

(*To Savitri*)

Think what that means to thee, my youthful daughter
The widow's barren years are sad and lone.

Savitri (stepping forward)—

Most reverend Sir, listen the maiden's answer
Relentless is indeed the Fates' decree.
My stricken heart cries out in bitter anguish
Yet will I prove the strength of womanhood
Not twice does give her heart the Hindu maiden.
My heart and promise are both Shotyaban's
And is Savitri, now, this day a widow
If she be made to break her word to him.
Yet, if I wed, and but one year be granted,
A life of widowhood were all too small
To outweigh all that one year's holy blessings.
My days henceforth were spent in prayer and rite.
The gods themselves gave to our Aryan fathers
The sacred marriage rite; not low desire
Draws to her chosen lord the Hindu maiden
Savitri seeks not earth's low happiness
But that the flesh-bound soul upon her journey
Through earth's dark vales more safely reach the goal,

Therefore is matrimony. By this union
The rites of worship receive greater strength.
Therefore were they created man and woman,
That by this union of their hearts as one
Their blended souls return in bliss to Bramha
And when two souls in this great union meet,
That very holy moment is their nuptial.
And though the Fates may part them in the flesh
Still know they that their life's task is accomplished,
In sacred rites their hearts will ever join,
For souls live not on earth, they live in heaven.

Narada—

Ah, noble maid, the Aryan ideals
In thee, Savitri, reached to perfect bloom
Go thou and wed thy lord and with my blessing.
For such as thou art heaven's pure delight.
The gods, who early blessed our Aryan daughters
Have unto them a mighty place assigned.
Theirs is the task to keep the altars glowing
To feed the homehearth with the Vedic fire,
The flame of which will shine on all the nations
And keep this land alive through those dark years
Which cycle's rounds will bring to Bharatbarsha.
Though her sons fail, yet will the Vedic torch
Shine through the dark, be feeble oft its beacon
This woman's steadfastness has stood the test
In ages yet to come will her example
Be guide to generations yet unborn.
And thus the land be blessed by her true daughters.

(*To King*)

Grant her her choice and glory in thy child.
Now I return unto my place in Swarga,

And will I all the gods the story tell,
That they in joy sing glory to Savitri,
Who keeps the flame of heav'n alive on earth.

ACT IV.

(*In Two Scenes.*)

[One year later. Savitri has been a year in her husband's house, and the curse is to fall that day. *Scene I.*—A forest dell, Savitri is in the attitude of prayer. Incense is burning in a brass vessel.]

Savitri—

Holy, holy power unending,
Bramha, on Thy throne on High.
Hear my feeble pray'r ascending
Hear the woman's trembling sigh.

For the early morning pinions
Carry on the unstained air
All pure thoughts to Thy dominions,
Bramha, hear Savitri's pray'r.

And the fields of Grace transcending
Open to my spirit's eye.
See I prayers of mortals blending
With the purer thoughts on High.

Devis of the spirit altars,
Break the Fates' relentless spell;
Hear the cry a sad heart falters,
Take the curse that deeply fell.

Ye, to whom all strength is given,
Give me strength to stand this day.
Oh, ye unstained souls of Heaven
Grant me of your light a ray.

And I feel my pulses throbbing
With a pow'r unknown before,
Stilled the frail heart's feeble sobbing,
For Savitri weeps no more.

No, the woman's heart is glowing
With the fire of Seraphim.
Gladly go I, proudly knowing,—
Save or go to death with him.

(*A rose light shines over Savitri. Shotyaban steps out of the cottage.*)

Shotyaban—

The rosy morning-light has no more glory
Than does from thy pure, holy presence flow.
The rising dawn sees thee in early worship.
Thy days are spent in tender, loving deeds
To selfless service is thy young life given
And none but words of grace escape thy lips.

Savitri (*seeing him*)—

I greet thee, oh my lord, and why so early
Wilt thou this day into the forest go?[1]

Shotyaban—

I go that my day's task may soon be finished,
Hast thou forgotten then, this sacred day?
'Tis just a year since thou to me wert given
How fondly happy have the months gone by.
But why this sigh, tell me, art thou unhappy?

(*Savitri sighs.*)

I've seen of late a shadow on thy brow.
Oh, trust me, tell me all, I do implore thee
What clouds the lovelight of thy tender eye.
My parents love thee as their only daughter.
Speak frankly, am I guilty of neglect?

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[1] Shotyaban went daily into the woods to fetch sandal wood for worship and fruit, etc.

Savitri (*smiling sadly*)

Nay, never; fear not, I am all too happy,
But listen, I would ask a boon of thee.
Permit I join thee going to the forest.
Let me be near thee, husband, for this day.

Shotyaban—

Why this unusual desire Savitri?
Thou never yet made that request before,
Yet gladly—come; is not thy holy presence
To me as sunlight on a stormy day?

(*They walk off the stage.*)

Scene II.

[The scenery changes to that of the depth of a forest. Savitri and Shotyaban reappear. They sit down on a mossy elevation.]

Shotyaban—

Oh, how I still recall that golden morning,
When first I saw thee in the forest glen.
Together here with all thy trusted ladies
It seems but yesterday, time's wings are swift.

(*He becomes listless. She watches him anxiously.*)

Savitri—

Art thou not well? thy brow is hot with fever,
Thy hands are cold, and thou art all so pale.

Shotyaban (*putting his hand to his head*)—

This cutting pain, my brain is hot and throbbing.
Why all so sudden came this spell on me?
I feel so weak, my lifebreath seems to leave me
A pall of darkness has crept o'er my eyes.

Savitri, dearest angel of my being,
My end has come, I must depart from thee.
Oh, take my hand, that I may feel thy presence
Ere yet my senses to the world are dead.

(*He falls back. Savitri looks heavenward; the curtain falls.*)

ACT V.

[*Scene.*—A long passage lit by a bluish light. Savitri and Shotyaban appear, looking deadly white. Enter the Messengers of Death.]

First Messenger—

Dark are the shadows
Lone is the road
That lead to Yama's
Dreaded abode.
And in the balance
Hangs Fate's decree.
Thus are we coming
Mortal, for thee.

Savitri—

Flee hence, ye threat'ning, evil shadows, flee!
Savitri yields not, go,—depart from here.

Second Messenger—

We are the servants
Of Yama, our King,
'Twas not the woman
He bade us bring.
Go back to sunlight
Till thy course's run
Give to Death's servants
The hermit's son.

Savitri—

He is my husband, never shalt thou touch him,
Return to Yama, say I yield him not.

First Messenger—

Woman who art thou?
Strange is thy sight.
Shines from thy body
Unearthly light.

Second Messenger—

Come, for I fear her.
Take we to flight.
She is a danger
To realms of night.

(*They turn to go and meet Yama on the road.*)

First Messenger—

Master, we tried to
Obey thy command.
But are returning
With empty hand.

Second Messenger—

Would not the woman
Let us go near.
She fills the shadows
With deadly fear.

(*They glide by. Yama approaches. He takes Shotyaban's hand, who follows listlessly.*)

Yama—

A wondrous maiden is indeed Savitri
The power of her virtue is so great,

It is with difficulty I approach her.
Yet must it be, Yama can't be withstood.

(*To Savitri*)

Daughter Savitri, hinder not my mission.
I came to take thy husband, he is mine.
Surrender thou, for know thou who I am.

Savitri—

Yes, great one, thou art Yama thy words reveal it
And if my husband now belongs to thee,
Then am I thine as well. Thou mayest take him.
But where thou goest, Savitri follows thee.

Yama—

Nay, daughter, nay; the fates have not decreed it.
Thy life-sands on the earth are not yet run.
The living stay, but go the dead to Yama.
Betake thee hence, thou canst not follow him.

Savitri (*taking Shotyaban's hand while Yama holds the other*)—

Never, oh Lord, I am a Hindu woman
The Hindu wife is faithful unto death.

Yama—

Thou art indeed strong in thy heart's devotion,
And, ah so young, poor child I pity thee.
Ask thou a boon of me, and I will grant it,
Save, mark thee, that it be thy husband's life.

Savitri—

Lord of the dead, I know thy mighty power.
And what thou promise once, will surely come.

Then grant that to my father, Asvapati,
King of Ujjaina, given be a son,
An heir, to whom he may bequeath his kingdom
And who will keep his ancient house alive.

Yama—

It shall be so, and now, my child, go homeward.
It is not well, that thou shouldst linger here.

(*He turns holding Shotyaban by the hand. Presently he looks back and sees Savitri still following.*)

Yama—

What mean thou child, why art thou still persisting.
Thy weary task is useless, go thou home.

Savitri—

Go home ? no, King of Death, where my lord goeth,
There go I, for my road but lies with his.
I have no home save where my husband lingers,
And know thou not, that a true Hindu wife
Will go with him to whom the gods have joined her,
O'er seas and deserts and through gates of death ?

Yama—

Poor child, my heart is trembling all in pity.
And gladly, gladly would I yield to thee
But that I may not. Yama's fated victims,
May never to the living more return,
Yet to allay thy sorrow, I will grant thee
Still one more boon, ask what thou wilt, my child,
Save, that it be, as I have said, thy husband,
Then dry thy tears and go from me in peace.

Savitri—

Then grant, oh Lord, that to my husband's father
Be given back his eyesight, which he lost
And more than this, grant that King Dyumatsena
Recover his lost kingdom and his throne.

Yama—

Thou hast asked much my child, but be it granted
To cheer thee through thy widowhood's sad years.
And now go hence, disturb not Yama further,
But go thou on thy road, while I take mine.

(*Yama looking back once more, still beholds Savitri following.*)

Yama (*more firm*) –

Savitri, child, why art thou still persisting ?
Thy efforts are in vain, go back to earth.

Savitri—

Nay, never, to the end of time I follow,
What is the earth, what is e'en heaven to me ?
Thou hast my earth, my heaven taken from me.
And then wouldst coldly tell me to go back ?
Yama, Savitri knoweth no returning,
Where'er her wedded lord is, there is she.

Yama (*more determined*)—

Come now, Savitri, try not Yama's patience,
Thou know'st me mighty, be not all too bold
But thy young life claims all my heart's full pity,
And thy high virtues deeply touch my soul.
Ask then, again, a third boon may be granted
But do not ask the one thing I can't give.

Savitri—

Father, I am a childless, lonely woman.
Grant me the blessings then of motherhood.
Grant that my life be blest with many children,
That, as the years advance I see the day
When in my arms I hold my childrens' children.
Give this, and see Savitri's heart full glad.

Yama (*irritated*)—

Yes, I do grant it, now go home rejoicing,
I too rejoice, but leave me now, go hence.

(*The rose light that has been shining over Savitri all along now increases in brightness. She crosses Yama's path with outstretched arms.*)

Savitri—

Great Yama, thou hast lost, give me my husband.
Admit that thou art conquered, Lord of Death.

Yama (*angry*)—

What thou demandst has gone beyond all reason.
I conquered? What do all these wild words mean?

Savitri—

Thou know'st, oh Lord, not twice wed India's daughters.
Death cannot break their sacred bridal vow.
And thou can't break the word that thou hast given.
Return my husband, Yama, he is mine
Thou promised children, and I claim their father.

Yama (*looking very puzzled*)—

Can this be,—by a woman Death outwitted?
Is Yama conquered by a child like this?

Savitri, thou hast won, thine is the vict'ry,
Honour demands I give thy husband back.

(*He lays Shotyaban's hand in hers. Savitri looks triumphant.*)

But lo, it is the woman's holy courage
Of stainless virtue born and virgin grace
To which I yield the prize. Death has no power
Against such tow'ring holy strength as this
India's sacred pillars are her daughters.
Oh Bharatbarsha, of all lands most blest.
Return, Savitri, to the land of mortals,
To home and bliss, but go thou not alone.
And thus we part; our roads are still divided,
Aryan daughter, thou hast conquered Death.

(*A golden light floods the stage as the curtain drops.*)

A. CHRISTINA ALBERS

THREE SONGS

Sing me a song of Life, oh Singer!
Life that is passing, Life that is past,
Life that is coming, fate's harbinger
Life lived to the full, while the body shall last.

Sing me a song of Death, oh Singer!
Death omnipotent, Death armour-clad,
Death that is sweet, the moving finger
That writes: "The fulfilment of Life thou hast had."

Sing me a song of Love, oh Singer!
Love full of sacrifice, Love divine
Love the chast'ner, Love the joy-bringer
That mounts to the head like a cup full of wine.

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

THE BALLAD OF UDAI SINGH

I am a Rajput born and bred
With a Rajput mother's pride
And the proudest hour of all my life
Was the hour my baby died.

For the hounds of death were abroad in the land
Eager to kill and kill ;
No mercy had they for a royal prey
Though he were but an infant still.

Then a cry arose in the women's halls;
I heard the death-shriek ring;
The hounds had tasted a victim's blood,
And the next would be Udai Singh.

With hasting hands in a basket of fruit
I hid the king, and I set
My boy in his place and covered him o'er
With the royal coverlet.

He smiled at me as I laid him down—
Oh, I thought my heart would break;
But I kissed his cheek with a steady lip
For the life of a king was at stake.

Then in they burst and "Where is the king?"
They cried—but I could not speak;
And I pointed dumbly as who should say
"Lo, there is the babe ye seek."

And a bloody ruffian sheathed his sword
In the breast of my little son,
And I stood near but I shed no tear
As I watched while the deed was done.

Oh and it pierced my heart like a sword.
But 'twas Siva's will to destroy
One life and instead of my Rajput prince
I offered my Rajput boy.

One look at the tiny bloodstained corpse,
Then I hurried to find my charge
Where he lay concealed in a rush-grown field
That stretched to the river's marge.

Through many a forest dark we toiled
O'er many a mountain drear;
He fed from my breast till we reached at length
The fortress of Komulmer.

Then I laid the babe on the knee of those
Who kept the fortress' ward,
And I fell foredone with the thankful cry
"Take him, for he is your lord."

For I am a Rajput born and bred
With a Rajput mother's pride;
I would give again to save my king
The life of the son who died.

STANLEY RICE

EARLY HISTORY OF THE BENGALI STAGE

Before taking up any critical estimate of the Bengali dramas themselves, it is necessary to know some salient facts regarding the stage-history of the early Bengali Dramas. The building-up of a *bona-fide* Bengali stage during the early forties of the last century was fraught with many impediments and difficulties. The first and foremost obstacle lay in the inclusion of females on the public stage. Social tradition and age-long prejudice, added to the *purdah-system* of the Hindu and Mahomedan ladies, inevitably stood on the way. The second difficulty, no less than the first, originated from the staunch Pundits who kept a lynx-eyed watch over a strict preservation of the ancient Çastric injunctions. As for example, a tragedy in the sense of a dark atmosphere and gloomy ending was not available in ancient Sanskrit dramatic literature. Every transgression of the very elementary codes of morality or good taste was ruled out of the stage, such as kissing, sneezing, embracing, killing or any sort of violence. If there were any necessity for performing any of these actions for the sake of a dramatic motive, it would simply be indicated in the speeches, or again, the whole action would be relegated to a short scene technically called *Biṣkambhaka.*[1] Hence it was that the popular mind could not shake off its deep-seated prejudice and thus it found itself hopelessly trammelled by the so called injunction on the score of morality. To this, again, is to be attributed the reason for proscribing such a play as *Dakṣa-jagña* from all Hindu houses, not only because it is rife with blood-and-thunder scenes, but also because it narrates the episodes of the humiliation of

[1] वृत्तवर्त्तिष्यमानं कथांशानां निदर्शकः।
संक्षेपार्थस्तु विष्कम्भो मध्यपात्र प्रयोजितः॥

—दशरूपकम्।

Çiva and the awful death of his devoted consort. The next difficulty arose with the manner of composing these dramas. True that the Yatra form was partially maintained, but the style and diction of some of the best dramas of the age were authentic breaches against Sanskrit dramaturgy with a divine origin. The English dramatic model was accepted by and by, and this foreign intrusion into the native element was looked down upon as sacrilegious. That is the only reason why a healthy and speedy growth of a truly national dramatic literature of Bengal was so long retarded. But it will be seen from the following account that some of the best European scholars and officers took part in dramatic performances along with the Bengalees with an avowed dramatic sense.

The next difficulty connects itself with the question of finance. A professional stage, introducing a foreign and quixotic thing amongst the orthodox masses, would be left empty. Having realised this initial obstacle the pioneers of the early Bengali stage—among whom will be found many an illustrious name—introduced the amateur stage, just on the same lines as the English stage. Here the Pundits found themselves ingloriously cornered and could not raise their fingers by way of protest against their mighty opponents. Amateur stage was built up in the great mansions of the Zamindars and Rajahs who came forward to finance this intellectual movement. Here the *elite* of the town were invited, both Europeans and Indians of all sorts of nationality and all shades of opinions. These merry and enjoyable congregations formed the meeting-ground of persons with a distinct difference of opinions on questions of art. Many angularities were rounded off, many antiquated opinions antipodally changed. We shall see how these difficulties were solved one by one and professional players lent their help to this movement for building up a truly national stage for the people.

In 1833, the first Bengali amateur stage was set up at Nobin Chandra Basu's house at Shyambazar and the first play performed was that of *Bidyā-Sundar*. Two very curious things are remembered in this connection. The audience and actors had to shift places with the shifting of scenes, and prologues to be recited from Bharatchandra with the introduction of every new scene.

Just at this time Capt. D. L. Richardson, Professor of English at Hindu College, Calcutta, and Hermann Jeffroy, then a retired barrister and professor at Oriental Seminary, used to incite their pupils to dramatic performances from the best 16th and 18th century English dramas. Their culture and love of the stage created a dramatic sense and one of their disciples actually belonged to the later Belgachia Theatre. As has been previously said, in want of better Bengali plays English dramas had to be staged in the residences of many wealthy people in Calcutta, *e.g.*, (1) in his garden residence at Sunra in the S.-E. suburb of Calcutta, Prosanna Kumar Tagore got *Uttar-Rām-Charit* staged in English in which Wilson himself was the dramatic director: (2) Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* and *Julius Cæsar* were put on the board in the David Hare Academy. In March 1853-55, the Oriental Theatre was founded in the Oriental Seminary itself by some of its ex-students, who had previously set up another stage, called the Town Theatre. One Mr. Clinger from the Sans Souci Theatre (formerly located in the same house where the present St. Xavier's College stands) was the dramatic director of this new stage. Here were played Shakespeare's *Othello*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and the first part of *Henry IV* with its rollicking scenes of Falstaff and his party. Mrs. Greig, a star actress of the day, took the part of Portia and acquitted herself quite creditably. The great Shakesperean players in Europe, such as Macready, Phelps, Irving, Tree, Ristori, Helen Faucit, Kate and Ellen Terry found their Indian prototypes even during this twilight period of dramatic culture and achievement in Bengal. At Sans Souci itself played persons like Horace Hayman Wilson, the great Sanskrit scholar, Mr. Stocquler, editor of the *Englishman*, Parker, Torrens and Hume a Calcutta barrister, later on the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta.

Side by side with the performance of the best dramas in English, the movement of Brahmoism came as an agreeable relief to solve the pecular social deadlock. Hindu music was cultured anew and many musicians of India-wide fame congregated at the Tagores' mansion in Calcutta to set Brahmo songs to tune and hold bardic contests as are still frequently held in Upper India. Of these amateur and professional singers and musicians, the late Maharaja Sourindra Mohon Thākoor, himself a great musician, was the greatest patron who had won the highest laurels from many European Academies. Brahmo songs, composed and set to music during this time, won unstinted praise from the cultured artists, and they live up to this day. The Brahmo prayers, delivered in a gorgeous language amidst the magnificent surroundings of a prayer-hall and inspired by an ardent devotional spirit hastened the mobility and fluency of the Bengali language.

In 1857, the awful mutiny year, were staged several important dramas which are to exert a mighty influence on the later national drama of Bengal, *viz.*, *Bidyāsundar*, *Rūkminīharan*, *Mālatī-Mādhab*, *Kulīn-kula-sarbasva*, *Çakuntalā*, (played at Chhātu Babu's house at Beadon Street), *Mahāçvetā*, *Benīsanghār* (at Kali Singha's at Jorasanko) and *Bikrōmōrbaçi* (a translation instigated by Kali Prosanna Singh), the last performance being encouraged by the presence of Mr. C. Beadon, Secretary to India Government (later on, Sir Cecil Beadon). Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, the famous Bengali barrister, took a leading part in this play. *Kulīn-kula-sarvasva*, the most famous of all these dramas, was at first staged in 1854 at Ramjoy Bysak's house at Çibtola (the present Tagore Castle Road). Kali Charan Roy Cheudhury, a distinguished zamindar of Rungpur and patron of indigent writers like the poet Rangalal Banerjee of the Padminī-Upākhyān fame, also helped Pandit Rāmnārāyan, the writer of the present drama.

In the splendid garden-house of Jatindra Mohan Tagore (later, Maharaja Sir, bought from Prince Dwarkanath Tagore, was established the famous *Belgachia Theatre*. In order to advance the cause of the Bengali national drama there was a warm and hearty co-operation; this confrère of Rajas Içvar Chandra Singha and Pratāp Chandra Singha (the former's cousin) of Paikpāṛā together with Jatindra Mohon invited the best intellects of the day and opened their purse-strings freely to set up a permanent stage and a dramatic literature independent of public support and free from foreign influence. The stalwart figure of Jatindra Mohan stands out prominent like that of Kaliprosanna in every social, political and literary movement of the day.[1] The first concert party, too, was introduced with the first play of Rāmnārāyaṇ, called *Ratnābalī*, a translation from Çrī Harṣa's famous Sanskrit drama of that name.

On the first of July, 1858, this drama was played by the organisers of the Belgachia Theatre, and on the third and fourth nights, English, Mahomedan and Jewish audience were present to witness the first successful play in Bengali undertaken by a rich and cultured group of men. Sir Frederick Halliday, Lt.-Governor of Bengal, High Court Judges, Commissioners and Magistrates were also present there. They did not spare anything to make the first attempt an unqualified success. The grandeur and magnificence of the orchestra, the scenes and dresses were as fine and excellent as wealth could provide and human ingenuity could produce. The rich Rajas found an ardent henchman by their side in Michael Madhusudan Datta who reproduced the drama into free English for the understanding of the audience ignorant of Bengali. The day is memorable on account of this emphatic pronouncement of the fact that even a drama translated from a dead language, from Sanskrit, may have a successful acquittal before the public under certain conditions. It was again a thought-provoking staging, as it set people thinking of the immense possibilities that awaited Bengali Drama. It was staged more than a dozen times and the rage for the new drama died hard in Calcutta. Michael Datta's *Çarmisthā* (also Englished by the writer himself) was published in 1858, *contra* Sanskrit canons. On the third September, 1859, it was first staged at the Belgachia Theatre. The English influence on this play is particularly noticeable which will be properly discussed in its place.[1]

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[1] See Michael Madhusudan Dutta's introduction to his English edition of Çarmisthā: "Should the drama ever again flourish in India, posterity will not forget these noble gentlemen—the earliest friends of our rising national theatre." See also his dedicatory letter to *Krishṇa Kumārī-Nāṭak.*

In a letter to Rajnarain Bose, Michael Datta refers to the popular impressions on the staging of this play: "When *Çarmisthā* was acted at Belgachia the impression it created was simply indescribable. Even the best romantic spectator was charmed with the character of Çarmisthā and shed tears with her. As for my own feelings they were things to dream of, not to tell. Poor old Ramchandra (an old tutor of Hindu College) was half mad and grasped my hand saying, "Why my dear Madhu, my dear Madhu, this does you great credit indeed! Oh it is beautiful!"

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[1] See the high appreciation of *Carmisthā* in Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitter's বিবিধার্থসংগ্রহ, ৫ম পর্ব্ব, ৫৮ সংখ্যা, শক ১৭৮০, মাঘ। Also Cp. Michael's own words: "I am aware, my dear fellow, that there will, in all likelihood, be something of a foreign air about my drama, but if the language be not ungrammatical, if the thoughts be just and glowing and the plot interesting, the characters well maintained, what care you if there be a foreign air about the thing? Do you dislike Moore's poetry because it is full of Orientalism, Byron's poetry for its Asiatic air, Carlyle's prose for its Germanism? Besides remember that I am writing for that portion of my countrymen who think as I think, whose minds have been more or less imbued with Western ideas and *modes of thinking*, and that it is my intention to throw off the fetters forged for us by a servile admiration for everything Sanskrit."—Letter to Gourdas Bysak, quoted by his biographers, Messrs. Basu and Som.

During this time the Belgachia Theatre staged some of the dramas of Michael Dutt, *e.g.*, *Padmābatī*, *Ekeï-kī-balē Sabhyatā ?* *Buṛo-Çālikēr-ghāṛē-roṇ*, *Krisṇa-Kumārī-Nāṭak*. The story of the *Apple of Discord* is recast in *Padmābatī*. *Ekeï-ki-balē-Sabhyatā ?* (originally called *Bhagna-Çib-Mandir* after the place where the *dénouement* happens) and *Buṛo-Çalikēr-ghāṛe-roṇ* (1859-60) are scurrilous social farces in which were victimised some of the worst specimens of the "Young Bengal." Their mighty influence may be traced from the age of Dīnabandhu (Cp. his *Sadhabār Ekādaçī* and *Biē-Pāglā-Buṛo*) down to our own times. These dramas were just preceded by immature farcical writings in an undramatic narrative form, like *Naba Bābu Bilās*, *Naba Bibi Bilās*, *Alālēr-gharēr-Dulāl*, as well as those written or incited by Jatindra Mohan Tagore (*e.g.*, *Bujhlē-ki-nā ?* *Ubhoy Saṇkat* and others). In fact, a host of them were already in the field, but Michael's productions were regarded supreme of their kind.[1]

Ekeï-ki-balē-Sabhyatā was also acted by the Çobhābāzār Theatrical Society. But *Padmābatī* was not put up to the board until after Michael's return from England. It was produced on the boards of the Bengal Amateur Theatrical Co., at Burtola (No. 246, Upper Chitpur Road) on the 14th September, 1867, and a Yatra from the same play was performed in the house of the Dattas at Wellington Square. *Krisṇa Kumārī Nāṭak*, the first blank-verse tragedy, was acted at Çobhābāzār Theatrical Society in 1866; it was not acted at Pathuriaghata Theatre owing to the objection of the Raja's mother to the tragic ending of the story.

With the first flush of enthusiasm passed, there was a lull in the production of dramas which retarded the art of staging considerably after the unhappy withdrawal of *Ekeī-ki-balē-Sabhyatā* and *Buṛo-çalikēr-ghaṛē-roṇ* from the Belgachia stage owing to the alleged condemnation of certain contemporary persons. Rājā Īçvarchandra made every preparation to get some flashy English farces acted on the same board, as for example *Prince for an Hour* (Abouhossain ?) *Power and Principle*, *Fast Train*, *High Pressure*, *Express*, etc., none of which, however, went through the press, but Jatindra Mohan was all along opposed to the acting of English plays or even farces on the boards of a Bengali National Stage.

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[1] Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in one of his dramatic criticisms says, " আমাদের বিবেচনায় এরূপ প্রকৃতির যতগুলি পুস্তক হইয়াছে, তন্মধ্যে এইখানিই [একেই কি বলে সভ্যতা] সর্ব্বোৎকৃষ্ট । "

See also রামগতি ন্যায়রত্নের বাঙ্গালা সাহিত্য বিষয়ক প্রস্তাব । MM. Haraprasad Sastri says in his speech at Sabitri Library : " তাঁহার প্রহসন দুইখানি আজিও প্রহসনের অগ্রগণ্য " ।

With the tragic death of Rājā Içvarchandra (29th March, 1861) was removed one of the greatest friends of Bengali National Drama, and now it became fully evident that unless there were professional theatres, no sort of permanency could be vouchsafed for the Bengali stage. So during the later seventies were set up many public theatres, but we shall not follow their chequered history here.[1]

MOHINI MOHAN MOOKERJEE

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[1] For many important points dealt with in this paper, see the standard Bengali biographies of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, by Messrs. Basu and Som, *et passim*.

WORLD'S SILVER MARKET

To understand the full significance of the formation of the proposed Silver Export Association in the United States of America it is necessary to consider the reasons for the present supremacy of London as the world's silver market. As has been said, the price of silver is determined not by the ordinary laws of demand and supply, but "by four brokers in London." Apart from the fact that it is the world's money market and chief centre for gold, there are some special reasons for its peculiar position in this respect.

As silver is obtained chiefly as a by-product, it can have no fixed cost of production. If the price of zinc or copper goes up and the marginal mines can be worked at a profit, more silver will be produced. Paradoxical as it may seem, the first sellers to the London brokers, the smelters, have no interest in its price. Their practice is to sell their silver at the London market rate and to buy at once a similar amount of ore at a corresponding price. The net effect is that they obtain from the mine-owners a certain fixed sum in gold for each ton of ore, to meet their smelting and selling charges. Their profit is, therefore, independent of the rate which they obtain in London.

Nor is the price of silver determined by the buyers, for these are principally the various Governments, who use silver for their subsidiary coins. They would of course try to buy as cheaply as possible but as there is always a considerable margin of profit from seigniorage, the price is really a matter of little importance to them. It is clear, therefore, that both demand and supply are equally inoperative in fixing the price.

The usual practice is that silver is despatched to London by foreign smelters and refiners as soon as it is produced, and the brokers are instructed to sell on before the arrival of the metal, at the best price obtainable. The four firms of brokers meet daily at 2 P. M. and then after comparing the amount each has to buy or sell, fix the rate at which the operations are to be put through. This rate is immediately cabled out to all important financial centres of the world. Dealings in silver are carried out on the basis of that rate, specially in the eastern countries.

This supremacy of London is now being seriously challenged by New York. The stress of five years of war has strained the economic resources of Britain nearly to the breaking point. The participation of America in the war was only towards its end. She has, therefore, a decided advantage. Added to that she is now the biggest creditor country in the world. Her merchant marine can now bear comparison with Britain's. It is, therefore, no wonder that her bid for supremacy in gold should be followed by this fresh attempt at control over silver.

From the following table for the years 1913 and 1920-2 it will be clear that London is gradually losing her preeminent position :

Year.	World's production of silver in millions of fine ounces	Value in millions of £ on the basis of yearly average price.	Total imports into the United Kingdom in millions of pounds.	Eastern exports from the United Kingdom in millions of £.
1913	210	25	14	11
1920	173	43	10	9
1921	171	26	9	10
1922	206	29	10	10

In 1913, the import was about 56% of the world's total output ; in 1922, it was nearly one-third.

How New York is gaining while London is losing will appear from the following figures :—

Imports into the U. S. A. for 6 months in millions of dollars.

	1923	1922	1921
Mexico ...	17	25	18
Peru ...	5	5	3
Chile ...	1	1	1
Canada ...	2	2	2

Exports from the U. S. A. for 6 *months in millions of dollars.*

China (Including Honkong) ...	14	15	8
India ...	5	5	2
England ...	3	6	6

It is, therefore, clear that the only change in 1923 has been less import from Mexico and less export to England: but the direct trade with the East has been well maintained.

Hence the proposed Silver Export Association of American financiers cannot but give rise to serious misgivings. America is the home of gigantic trusts, of the notorious 'Bland' Bill, and of the Sherman Act. Backed by the huge resources of the United States Government, the Silver Export Association may reasonably hope to control the silver exports of the country. The total output of the metal in North and South America at present forms more than 80 per cent. of the world's supply, and a strong association having its handling will be able to fix its rate in the place of the London brokers.

It is of course quite certain that any attempt to dislodge Britain from her present position would be strongly contested. The enormous hoard of silver in India and China would be released, if the prices are put up. The phenomenal rise in the price of the metal during the War was partly due to the ban on the export of Indian silver. With that removed, the huge store of hoarded silver will be available for export.

Besides, why is it that specie is exported from London to the East? Is it not because that the balance of trade is favourable to those countries and has to be liquidated in this way? Unless, therefore, New York is in the same position as London in relation to India and the East, mere control of the output will not make her the world's bullion market.

As regards banking facilities, which are absolutely essential for the movement of specie from one country to another, the position of London is unique. All banks financing the Eastern trade, whether in merchandise or in precious metals, have their Head Offices in London. It is after years of patient and careful work that London has been able to become the world's monetary centre. It will be difficult for New York to wrest that position from her.

H. SINHA

BRITISH POLICY IN TURKEY

I

England's interests in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire were roused since she began to pick up bits of territories in India. Constantinople and Egypt, the two gateways to India, were in the possession of the Turk whose political power was in a state of gradual decline from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The weakness of the Turk offered an opportunity to Russia to aggrandise herself at his expense. Her aggressive designs in the South-East Europe excited the jealousy of British statesmen who saw in the Russian occupation of Constantinople an obvious danger to the safety of the British possessions in the East. During the greater part of the last century Russia made repeated efforts for bringing about the dissolution of the Turkish Empire, and on every occasion she was baffled by the determined opposition of Great Britain. The maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish Empire became thus the traditional policy of Great Britain in the nineteenth century. This pro-Turkish policy was not, however, inspired in the least by any genuine sympathy of the British people for the Turk. On the other hand, the existence of a non-Christian power in Europe ruling over a large number of Christian population was highly repugnant to them. Edmund Burke voiced the real sentiments of the British people when he said that "the Turks were essentially Asiatic people who completely isolated themselves from European affairs" and that "the minister who would give them any weight in Europe deserved all the ban and curses of posterity." Gladstone wanted to drive the Turks out of Europe bag and baggage. When in 1877 Russia declared war against Turkey he welcomed the declaration as the "knell of Turkish tyranny," and his sentiments were shared by the bulk of the British people. It was the spectre of the Russian invasion of India which drove the British Government to cultivate friendship with Turkey. This political friendship came to an end when the safety of India was provided for in a more effective way. In 1882 Egypt was occupied by Great Britain. To Britain established in Egypt the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was no longer of paramount importance. Turkey, also, could no longer trust her former ally, and the popularity of Britain at Constantinople was gone. In 1907 Great Britain concluded an alliance with Russia, the traditional foe of Turkey, which completely alienated the Turks from the British Government. These measures resulted in throwing Turkey into the arms of Germany who had gradually insinuated herself into the confidence of the Ottoman government. The growing influence of Germany in Turkey threatened British interests in more than one way. In the first place, Germany, supported by Turkey, might replace Great Britain in Egypt. Secondly, the establishment of Germany in Asiatic Turkey would act as a bar to England's future exploitation of that region. Again, Germany's friendship with the religious head of the Moslem world might injuriously affect the relations of Great Britain with her Mohamedan subjects. The destruction of the Turkish Empire became, therefore, a necessity to Great Britain, and she henceforth adopted the policy of inciting other nations against Turkey and encouraging them to seize her dominions. In June, 1911, England and France induced Italy to advance upon Tripoli which would then be secured for her by diplomatic pressure from London and Paris. But the Porte showed determination to fight to the last gasp, and Italy found herself in a perilous situation. The British statesmen then induced the Balkan League to declare war against Turkey when she was engaged in a bitter struggle with Italy. The results of the war are well-known. To meet the new danger Turkey was compelled to surrender Tripoli to Italy. She was completely vanquished by the League and had to part with about five-sixths of her European dominions. Thus at the time when the Turk was sincerely carrying out reforms with a view to regenerate the Turkish Empire, his position in Europe was rendered precarious by the enmity of Great Britain and her allies. In fact, they thought it expedient to nip the new Turkey in the bud, lest, growing better, she ceased to furnish any pretext for the hostile activities of her neighbours.

II

When the Great War broke out, Great Britain and her Allies assured the Sultan that "if the Ottoman Empire maintained its neutrality, the independence and integrity of the Empire would be respected during the war, and provided for at the Peace settlement." But from the very beginning of the war Russia made it known that, should the Allies come off victorious, she would claim Constantinople and the control of the Straits. It was also known that at an early stage the Allies had concluded secret agreements in which these claims were formally recognised. During the war it was evident from the statements of the British politicians that, should the war turn in favour of the Allies, Turkey would have to pay a terrible penalty. In January, 1917, the British Government stated, in reply to President Wilson's Peace-note, that one of its war-aims was "the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire and the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turk." In a speech at Glasgow (June, 1917) the British Prime Minister declared that "the Mesopotamia will never be restored to the blasting tyranny of the Turk." In January, 1918, he stated that "......... Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national condition." The British statesmen showed utmost anxiety for 'Arab independence' and waxed eloquent over the principle of self-determination, though they were extremely reluctant to apply this principle to countries like Ireland, Egypt and India where the peoples were making vigorous efforts for freeing themselves from British domination. In course of the war the British, aided by internal revolts, established themselves in Mesopotamia and Palestine. The Sheriff of Mecca, lured by the pledge of the British Government to recognise Arab independence, raised the standard of revolt and went over to the Allies with a large number of Turkish forces. In October, 1918, the Turks were completely defeated. An Armistice was concluded with the Allies the conditions of which were extremely humiliating to Turkey. In May, 1919, Greek troops were landed in Smyrna under the protection of Allied warships. This fatal step put an end to all hopes of a peaceful settlement of the Turkish question. Patriotic Turks were now convinced that nothing but organised resistance could save Turkey. A national party was formed in Anatolia under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, Governor of Erzeroum. The party captured the newly-elected Parliament and expressed its determination "to oppose any clauses in the eventual treaty of Peace which should prevent the political, financial and judicial development" of the Turks. Enraged at these proceedings, the British Government occupied Constantinople and arrested the more prominent members of the Parliament most of whom were deported to Malta. Scared away from Constantinople the Kemalists formed a National Assembly at Angora, which soon became the only Government of authority in Turkey

III

On May 1, 1920, the Turkish treaty, known as the Treaty of Sevres, was handed over to the Turkish delegates. The treaty reduced Turkish domination in Europe to Constantinople, assigned Thrace and Smyrna to Greece, provided for the freedom of the Straits both in peace and war, and gave France a mandate over Syria and Great Britain over Palestine and Mesopotamia. The Turkish Empire was thus sought to be destroyed. The part of Asia Minor left in the hands of the Turks, having no exits to the Mediterranean and no connection with the Bagdad Railway, could have no independent economic existence. Predominantly Turkish regions like Thrace and Smyrna were handed over to the Greeks—once the subjects of the Ottoman Empire—in direct contravention of the British Prime Minister's declaration that they were "not fighting to deprive Turkey of Constantinople or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish racially." Evidently, the Prime Minister's pledge was given only with a view to draw upon India for Moslem recruits during the war. It was fortunate for the Turks that they were allowed to retain Constantinople in spite of the vigorous campaign carried on by a powerful section of the British public for turning them out of Europe. It was probably apprehended that the Turks, 'driven out of Europe, away from the Allied guns' might make themselves more formidable in Anatolia. Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia have been detached from the Turkish Empire with the avowed object of giving the peoples of those provinces autonomous governments of their own choosing. According to the provisions of the League of Nations Covenant they are to be under the guidance of Mandatory Powers who will "render administrative advice and assistance until such time as they are able to stand alone," but the Mandatories " will derive no benefit from such trusteeship." But this principle has been honoured more by violation than by observance. In the face of strong popular opposition the French Government occupied Damascus and Aleppo at the point of the bayonet, and proceeded to establish a strong government in Syria. In Mesopotamia, the people, disillusioned as to the establishment of 'Arab independence' and pressed hard by a high rate of taxation, rose in rebellion which was ruthlessly suppressed by the British forces. Eventually the British Government thought it expedient to adopt some conciliatory measures, all real powers, however, remaining concentrated in the British High Commissioner. A calm atmosphere was thus sought to be created in that region for facilitating the processes of economic exploitation already begun there. A private treaty was concluded between England and France according to which the precious oil of Mesopotamia was divided between these Powers. The British Cotton Growers' Association and the Empire Cotton Growing Committee had between them "secured the monopoly of supervising all the processes, incidental to the growing of cotton in Mesopotamia, to the exclusion of others, even natives of the soil who are prohibited from importing cotton seeds on their own initiative and for their profit." Of course, the Arabs must pay for the civilised administration and progressive ideas which are being thrust upon them by their conquerors. But by the time they become adept in the arts of self-government under the guidance of their European masters, their country will be enslaved economically by foreign capitalists and drained of all its material resources.

IV

The Treaty of Sevres highly exasperated the Turkish Nationalists who started military operations against the Allies. To secure the execution of the Treaty the Allies decided at the Boulogne Conference of June, 1920, to authorise Greece to launch an offensive against the Nationalists. Supplied with arms and ammunition by the British Government the Greeks advanced towards Anatolia and were almost within sight of Angora. The Turks fought desperately and the Greeks were compelled to retrace their steps. The success of the Turks induced France to conclude an agreement with the Angora Government by which she surrendered to it a great part of Eastern Cilicia and conceded to them the right to use the Bagdad Railway. Later on, Italy also came to an understanding with the Angora Government. England was thus left alone in the pursuit of her anti-Turkish policy. The division among the Allies really began much earlier. The decision of the Allied Powers in 1919 to hand over Smyrna (originally promised to the Italians) to Greece enraged Italy whose ardour for the destruction of Turkey began to abate from that moment. France began to waver in her anti-Turkish policy since the occupation of Constantinople by the British forces. Failure of the Greek offensive finally led her to cultivate friendship with the Angora Government with a view to safeguard her interests in Asia Minor. The position of Great Britain, already weakened by the desertion of her Allies, was rendered more difficult by a political upheaval in India. The Indian Moslems took up the cause of Turkey and started an avowedly anti-British movement known as the Khilafat movement with a view to enforce a revision of the Treaty of Sevres. The movement gained the support of the Indian National Congress which included it in its programme with a view to promote the Hindu-Moslem unity, and became thus bound up with the whole Non-co-operation movement. The seriousness of the situation led the Government of India to make repeated representations to the Imperial Government for a reconsideration of the Turkish question. But the British Cabinet did not seem to be impressed by these representations. Meanwhile, the condition of the Greeks went from bad to worse. In February, 1922, the British Government was informed by the Greek minister that it would be impossible to keep the Greek army in Anatolia without further assistance. In reply the British Foreign Secretary asked the Greek Government to hold out for the present. In March, 1922, a mission, sent by the Angora Government, visited London and made an attempt to resume negotiations with the British Government for the settlement of a peace on the basis of 'Turkish National Pact.' The efforts of the mission proved fruitless owing to the uncompromising attitude of the British

Government. Later in the same month a Conference of Allied Ministers in Paris proposed to both of the belligerents a three months' Armistice in Asia Minor. The Angora Government accepted the proposal on condition of the immediate evacuation of Smyrna and its hinterland by the Greeks. The condition was rejected by the British Government though France and Italy were ready to accept it. On August 4, Mr. Lloyd George delivered a speech in the House of Commons in which he vigorously supported the Greek claims to Asia Minor and Thrace. Despairing of a peaceful settlement of the conflict through the mediation of the British Government, the Turkish Nationalists renewed military activities against the Greeks and completely defeated them in September, 1922. After having occupied Smyrna and expelled the Greeks from Anatolia the Turkish forces advanced towards the neutral zone occupied by Allied troops in the vicinity of Chanak. The French and Italian Governments withdrew their forces from the Dardanelles; but the British Government declared its determination to defend the passage by force, if necessary. Further advance of Turkish forces was thus stopped. A conference was opened at Mudiana for the conclusion of an Armistice the terms of which were finally settled on October 10. The Greek army was to evacuate Eastern Thrace within fifteen days, and a Peace Conference was to be held at Lausanne in November for the final settlement of the question.

V

The Greek debacle in Asia Minor opened the eyes of the British Government to the gravity of the situation. Up to the last Mr. Lloyd George stood by the side of the Greeks. He has been universally condemned for his pro-Greek policy But so far as the initiation of this policy was concerned, he shared his responsibility with Woodrow Wilson and Clemenceau. Neither England nor France was ready to spend men and money for overcoming the resistance of the Turkish Nationalists. Greece, lured by the offer of Smyrna and Western Thrace, undertook a task the difficulties of which were foreseen neither by herself nor by her patrons. She was promised moral and material support both by England and France. France retired from the field as soon as she realised that "the Greek army was a broken reed." Fear of loss of prestige, on the other hand, forbade any sudden alteration of the British policy. Moreover, the British Government committed the mistake of underestimating the real strength of Turkish Nationalism, and always believed in the final success of the Greek arms. At Lausanne the British Government was confronted by a Turk who enjoyed the position of a victor and who was determined to maintain by all means the legitimate rights of his people. Still, at the first part of the Lausanne Conference, the British Government made vigorous attempts to retain as much as possible the financial and judicial privileges enjoyed by foreigners in Turkey. The firm attitude of the Angora representatives frustrated the British plan, and hence the break-down of the first part of the Conference. Meanwhile, it became known that France and Italy would not associate themselves with any threat or display of physical force against the Turks. The British Government then realised the necessity of approaching the Turkish question in a more conciliatory spirit. When the Conference met for the second time, the British Foreign Secretary was found to be in a more complacent mood. With the exception of the question of Mosul and that of the Straits England allowed the Turks to impose their point of view upon the Allies on almost all important matters. The old capitulations were done away with. Turkey was thus released from the humiliating servitudes to which she had been subjected for a long time. She regained full sovereignty over Eastern Thrace, Smyrna and other districts in Asia Minor. The Allies undertook to withdraw their military forces from Constantinople and the Straits within a definite period. Mosul, with its rich oil-fields, presented a thorny problem. Both England and Turkey claimed that region. England declared her determination to go to war rather than yield on this point. Eventually it was decided that the two nations would try to arrive at a settlement within six months after the signature of the treaty and that, if no decision could be arrived at by that time, the question would be referred to the League of Nations. Regarding the Straits the British Government demanded that (*i*) they should be free to merchantmen and war-vessels of all nations both in peace and war; (*ii*) there should be a demilitarised zone on both sides of the Straits to be administered by an International Commission. Turkey objected to the presence of foreign warships in the Straits, and also contended that the establishment of an International Commission would interfere with her sovereign rights over the Straits. Ultimately, however, the British proposals were accepted with certain important modifications which secured Turkey's vital interests. Complete freedom of navigation in the Straits, which is accepted as a general principle, is restricted to neutral fleets and neutral ships of commerce when Turkey is a belligerent. In peace, privileges enjoyed by warships are subjected to certain limitations. The demilitarised zone is reduced in extent. A permanent Turkish delegate is to preside over the International Commission. On the whole the terms of agreements regarding the Straits are more favourable than the original Allied proposals. As regards the recognition of the concessions, contracts and other obligations of the late Turkish Government Turkey gave a blank denial. She was, however, prevailed upon to respect the debts due to private individuals.

The Treaty of Lausanne marks the birth of a new Turkey with full political, financial and economic independence. In one sense the Turk ought to entertain a feeling of gratitude towards England for this freedom. It was the extreme harshness of the British policy which stimulated him to regain the lost prestige of his nation. Had he been treated with a little more consideration when he lay prostrate before the Allies he would have probably remained their willing slave. He has now taught the European Powers a good lesson. They have been made to realise that it is not always safe to poke a 'sick man' and thereby drive him to extremes. It is to be hoped that this salutary lesson will not be lost upon those European Powers who happen to rule over subject nationalities—peoples who, owing to present weakness, cannot make their voice heard by their masters.

SATISHCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY

BEYOND BHAMO

Beyond Bhamo where Chinese caravans,
With donkey bells and rich exotic loads,
Crawl winding over Himalayan roads,
Past villages of animistic clans
And primal jungle where the tiger reigns,
There tropics end; bamboo begins to share
The hills with violet and maidenhair,
And myna welcomes magpie in the plains.

Though I may live to fathom senile years,
Still will I hear the parrots' bedlam call,
And still the distant cry of apes will fall
Compellingly upon my restless ears,
Till I must pack a bag of dreams and go
To follow tinkling trails beyond Bhamo.

WAYNE GARD

THE HISTORICITY OF HINDU MYTHOLOGY

James Prinsep has rightly remarked—"As long as the study of Indian antiquities confines itself to the illustration of Indian History, it must be confessed that it possesses little attraction for the general student, who is apt to regard the labour expended on the disentanglement of perplexing and contradictory mazes of fiction as leading only to the substitution of vague and dry probabilities for poetical albeit extravagant fable." But the moment such fiction yields to the critical investigation of an historical mind a tissue of sensible matter which may throw some light on the unravelment of certain hidden historical truths, it acquires a value not to be made light of even by sceptics. Mythology, in its accepted sense, is a congeries of fantastic stories, mostly fictitious and unreliable. To search for a grain of historical truth in a heap of mythological chaff may not be worth the labour bestowed upon it, but if the grain gleaned out can serve as a link, however feeble, in connecting the story of the past with that of the present, it may be fairly presumed that something useful has been added to the store of knowledge already available. To condemn all mythology as the outcome of a diseased brain or brains or the product of pure imagination with no historical substratum is not the work of a wise man, whose business it must be to try to find out a solution for every why or wherefore that stares him in his face. The human mind craves for some interpretation of these stories and refuses to be gratified till some kind of explanation is offered either in the shape of history, allegory or fiction. The stories of the Hindu mythology like those of ancient Greece or Italy are not incapable of yielding historical truths though embodied in strange religious garbs, if they are only patiently examined without any preconceived notions. By way of illustration the story of the Vedic god Rudra and the innumerable adventures and exploits attributed to him may be made to serve the purpose of throwing some light on the history of the India of pre-historic ages. Of all the gods of the Hindu pantheon it is Īśāna, better known as Rudra, that approaches nearest to the level of a human life. All stories narrated of him have so strong a tinge of humanity about him that one is tempted to look upon him but as a deified hero. We are not here concerned with the religious aspect of the mythology under investigation and if in the course of our elucidation of certain facts of history connected with the life and doings of this most dreaded but humane of Hindu gods, we seem to offend the religious susceptibilities of some people, we have only to take shelter under the plea that our aim is only to cull such historical facts as are hidden in a web of sanctimonious fiction. Dismissing from our minds, therefore, completely for a while the idea of looking upon him and his associates as gods of the Hindu pantheon but treating them as only a few of the greatest patriarchs of the earliest Vedic ages, let us examine the stories connected with them and try to see if they can yield any historical matter.

The stories of the early Vedas, if rightly interpreted, give us an idea that the history of the Aryan race may be traced almost from the time when this earth emerged out of the huge deluge which is admitted by all the nations of the earth to have taken place at some remote time beyond the memory of man. Fortunately, the configuration of the continent of Asia and the existence of the highest range of mountains in it enable us to come to the inevitable geographical conclusion that the Himalayan region should have been the first tract of land that came out of the sea and the original abode of man, therefore, should be located only there. Admitting the conclusion arrived at by all religions that the human race should have sprung from a common ancestor, it requires no great effort to concede that that original ancestor should have had his home only in the Himalayan region. Since the oldest book that speaks of this region and the people inhabiting it happens to be the Vedas of the Hindu Aryans, it is to that book that we must look to for an exposition of the customs and manners of the oldest of human races. Their civilization began with the worship of the elements and the practical aspect of religion consisted in the performance of sacrifice. The idea of propitiating God by means of sacrifice is as old as the human race itself and the fathers of the early Aryan race began their religious code with an elaborate ritual to be observed in sacrifices and the hymns to be sung in honour of the gods invoked. They began their religion with the worship of the Sun; and Fire, being the medium through which all sacrifices should be performed, became an object of equal reverence. The controversy whether the Sun owes his heat to Fire or Fire emanated only from the Sun is as old as the world itself. The people who officiated in a sacrifice naturally fell into two groups, one set of people chanting the hymns alone and the other doing the manual part of the work in preparing and throwing oblations into fire. In course of time the priestly class came to be divided into two sections—one dealing with the *Mantraic* portion alone and the other, with the *Tantraic* part of a sacrifice. Each was necessary to the other and the full complement in a sacrifice consisted of both. But when the time of distributing the reward came, each claimed precedence over the other and attached greater importance to its own functions in 'a sacrifice.' The controversy was pushed so far as to drag in the relative merits of the presiding deities in each function and hence began the rivalry between Surya and Agni in claiming greater acceptance.

Later on Surya became translated into Vishnu and Agni became Rudra, whose representation in the form of a Lingam clearly symbolises how the sacrificial fire was kindled by rubbing a pestle over a circular log of Arani wood. So even from the earliest times, the Indo-Aryans seem to have been divided into two sects, each looking upon the other almost with a spirit of rivalry. That idea has been pushed even to the modern times and that is why these two deities claim a number of devotees within the Vedic fold itself. The Puranic Vishnu as the son of Kasyapa and brother of Indra and the Puranic Rudra, as the son of Brahma and grand-son of Vishnu should not be confounded with the other two of Vedic fame. As their birth has been definitely made mention of they should be regarded as only men and all their activities do but reflect the part they played in the progress of their race on earth.

The Hindu mythology may be said almost to begin with the story of Kasyapa's marriage. He is said to have married two wives—one Aditi and the other Diti. Each became the mother of numerous children who necessarily fell into two divisions after their respective mothers. The sons of Aditi called themselves Devas, while the children of Diti came to be known as Asuras, *i.e.*, the enemies of the Suras, *i.e.*, the Devas. The word 'Asura' does not mean a non-Deva, as the word would then connote a wider circle of living beings not included in the concept. It may be here noted that survey of Hindu mythology reveals the fact that the Devas, *i. e.*, the Aryans traced their origin more from their father than their mother, while the Asuras—the non-Aryans—attached greater importance to their descent from their mother. Though both the clans traced their descent from a common father we don't see why one should look upon itself as of superior breed and the other reconcile itself to the idea of being treated as of inferior breed, except perhaps through the disparity in the status of their respective mothers. Here we are constrained to conclude that the first wife, the mother of the so-called Devas, should have been of Aryan blood, while the other, Diti, might have been of non-Aryan blood. Feuds between the children of two wives even of equal rank and caste are very common in the world and worse should have been, therefore, the case of these two clans, whose mothers were not of the same breed, Still it is recognized that it is perfectly legal on the part of a Brahmin to marry a wife from any tribe and so the right of the Asuras to share in their patrimony cannot be denied. The original home of these two tribes must have been in the land of Kasyapa's penance, *i. e.*, the modern Kashmir and its neighbourhood. Many Vedic stories relate to the endless warfare between these two tribes for supremacy, of course, with varying success. At any rate, at the beginning of their careers both tribes should have worked for their common good, as is indicated by the story of the churning of the milky ocean. We are at a loss to surmise what exact historical information is sought to be conveyed by this story, but one thing is certain that it is a symbolical representation of some agricultural pursuit of theirs to secure their means of livelihood and that their feuds began only when the Asura tribes were defrauded of their share of the fruits of their joint labour. The children of Diti were driven from the land of their birth, which came to be known as the land of immortality, probably on account of its fertility and fineness of climate. However, a few of the non-Aryan tribes made common cause with their Aryan brothers and participated in all their enjoyments. After driving out the non-Aryan tribes to the extreme corners of the then known world, the Aryans and the few non-Aryan tribes assimilated with them entered upon the now undisputed possession of their patrimony. They divided themselves into eight clans each under a tribal head, who, in course of time, came to be worshipped as the titular deity, of that particular clan. Each clan retired to one particular corner of their fatherland and eventually they all occupied the territories in all the eight directions of their original home, while the progenitors of the race, Brahma, Kasyapa, Daksha and other Prajapatis occupied the centre. To the north migrated the tribe of Kubera, a branch of the Asuras who had made common cause with their Aryan neighbours, the north-east was occupied by Isana, another name of Rudra, son of

Brahma, the patriarch of all the tribes. The east became the home of Indra, the first son of Kasyapa by his first wife and the king of all the Devas. To the south-east retired Agni and his host. The south became the abode of Yama and his followers. The south-west portion was occupied by *Niriti* and her men, while the due west became the home of Varuna the lord of all waters. The north-west portion became the inheritance of Vayu, the progenitor of the horse race of human beings, so called on account of their fleetness of foot. It should be noted that while the seven other patriarchs were the grandsons of Brahma, Isana the lord of the north-east direction was a son. In the Ramayana he is distinctly mentioned as the commander-in-chief of all the Deva hosts, because he was the greatest of warriors among them. In the Hindu pantheon he represents military prowess as well as wisdom. The Hindus trace from him their custom of appointing the greatest warrior among them as Commander as well as Prime Minister in a King's Council. Isana represents all learning and wisdom obtained through Yoga or contemplation and it is he who is said to have initiated the greatest of Brahman Rishis into the mysteries of divine wisdom by teaching them the philosophy of the mystic syllable 'Om.' Except in times of war, he is represented as an ascetic performing all sorts of austerities and leading his devotees in the path of self-abnegation and contemplation. He never fails to carry with him a book in one hand and a garland of heads in another and seated looking towards the south as Dakshinamurti is engaged in meditating upon the divine syllable in a trance of perfect Yogic bliss. The south is looked upon as the abode of Death and he faces towards it to free his devotees from the bondage of death and impart immortality to them. The story of his kicking the God of Death on behalf of a young Brahman is only a symbolical representation of his great power to impart the virtue of immortality to his followers by his Yogic gifts. In war he has no equal and can destroy the three worlds by merely throwing the ever-burning brand in his dreaded hand. It is to this mystic personage, who is represented as the most divine being and at the same time whose doings betray the weaknesses of human nature as well, the noblest race of mankind owes all its glory and progress in this world. Divesting him of all supernatural elements we purpose to look upon him as only one of the greatest of the early Aryan heroes and follow his career in his eventful life, which indirectly throws a flood of light on the customs, manners and progress of the early Aryans of this land.

It is a highly significant fact that he was posted to the north-east direction, because it was there that his services were most required inasmuch as the exiled non-Aryans had taken their abode mostly there and were preparing to supplant their more favoured brethren from there. After sufficiently equipping themselves for the coming conflict they suddenly rushed out of their three mountain fastnesses and offered a fight the like of which the world had never seen. The Tripuras, the denizens of the three mountains abounding in a rich deposit of gold, copper and iron ore were no ordinary foes to contend against and so the commander of the Aryans had to be helped by all the tribes in meeting the onset of their hereditary foes.

The destruction of the enemies was complete and the vanquished were driven away to the remote corners of the earth with no more hopes of waging a successful war against their enemies. Apparently there came then a lull in foreign warfare and it is no wonder that in a short time the tribes fell out with each other and a series of internecine wars broke out and these have been faintly echoed in their mythological accounts. Elated with his success over the Asura tribes the ever active Isana of the north-east colony seems to have waged a successful war with the tribes of the east under Indra and those of the south under Yama. He seems to have been harder upon the virile tribes of the south and Kubera, the lord of the north, seems to have been ever his steadfast friend, though he was of Asura origin. The south was completely subjugated and Yama became a direct underling of Rudra owning his sway over him with all the meekness of a vanquished foe. The two-fold aspect of Isana's nature of either breaking out into a fitful mood of carrying destruction wherever he went and harming friend and foe alike, or of completely withdrawing himself from all tribal activities and the performance of the customary sacrifices and participating in the oblations offered by his kinsmen, the undue partiality he showed to the Asura race by freely intermingling with them and taking a leading part in all their orgies and devil dances and a host of other little peculiarities which were a direct violation to the orthodox style of an Aryan life—all these seem to have estranged from him the hearts of his own kith and kin, who could not look upon his vagaries with equanimity. So it is no wonder that his august father, the grandfather of all the tribes, had to remonstrate with him, a procedure which brought him the outrage of mutilation at the hands of his own refractory son. The insult was too much for the other leaders to quietly pocket up and so they unanimously decided to stop all intercourse with him and his own father-in-law Daksha openly discarded him and refused to invite him to participate in a great sacrifice he held for his glorification. His daughter Dakshayani tried to effect a reconciliation but failing in her attempt she immolated herself in the very fire of her father's sacrifice. The bereaved son-in-law broke out into a fit of unparalleled fury, put himself at the head of the host of naked savages, who represented everything evil in human nature and with whom he had been moving rather intimately, burst upon his assembled kinsmen, mercilessly butchered his father-in-law and scattered the Arya host like chaff before the irresistible fury of a stormy wind. After his temper had cooled a little he woke up to the sense of the immensity of the wrongs he had done and spent some time in repentance. The loss of his tender wife, the outrage he had done to his father and father-in-law, the disgust with which he was looked upon by his kinsmen in spite of their dread of him and his demon host and the social boycott silently but rigorously practised against him by men of his own flesh and blood,—all these heavily pressed upon his mind and eventually drove him mad. He gave up his inheritance, put on the dress of a half-clad savage, turned out a lunatic and beggar and wandered in all uncouth retreats and in spots defiled by the shedding of blood or the burning of corpses. In the course of his wanderings he happened to come upon a colony of Brahman settlers in the midst of a forest named Daraka, even the sight of which brought to his mind the immensity of his misfortune and in a fit of wanton cruelty began to outrage the modesty of the innocent Brahman ladies in the hermitage with no other purpose than to humble the pride of his Aryan brethren from whose society he had now become a hopeless outcast. The outraged husbands tried their best to bring about the death of the ravisher, but he was more than a match for them all. Having sufficiently glutted his spirit of revenge he continued his wanderings till at last he came back to his home, cured of his lunacy. Here he wished to begin life anew and sought the hand of an Aryan maid in wedlock with him. In all probability his suit was discarded in an Aryan home, and so he had to satisfy himself by marrying the daughter of a mountain chieftain, probably a non-Aryan by birth. Now he wished to drown all his past memories in the company of his sweet wife Uma who deserved all the caresses bestowed upon her. He now appointed an Aryan hero, the son of Siladan, a rishi, as his bodyguard and it must be said to the credit of this individual that he had stuck to his master in all the vicissitudes of his fortune. His home became the resort of demons and savages and he cut himself off so entirely from Aryan society that the Deva tribes had to seek for a new commander-in-chief. Just then the Asuras came to war and Brahma, in spite of the outrage committed upon him, had to intercede and persuade his refractory son, who had now abandoned himself to a life of complete voluptuous enjoyment, to part with his right of commanding the Deva hosts in favour of his second son Skanda, the offspring of his romantic love for the mountain princess whom he had deliberately chosen probably from among the aboriginal mountain tribes of the Himalaya range. To his first son, the Lord Ganesa, he handed over his hermitage of imparting divine wisdom to the most deserving of mankind. The allegory of his elephant face can only be interpreted by a psychic explanation, but the fact remains that he has been accepted as a god of learning and wisdom, though he did not fail to inherit a share of his father's martial spirit. His second son became the Indian Mars though he had the gift of divine wisdom and claimed precedence even over his father in the art of interpreting it. The new Commander of the Deva host marched against the demon Surapadma, who had supplanted Indra and overrun all the Aryan territory. Hard was the fight between the two and the war seems to have ended in some sort of compromise between the two, as the story of the war says that the demon king could not be completely vanquished by Skanda of the dreadful javelin. At any rate the demon seems to have accepted his suzerainty and agreed to leave a life of subordination. Glad of his restoration the dethroned Indra bestowed upon Skanda his only daughter and the marriage was celebrated with all the splendour due to the contracting parties. The first known armed Aryan migration into the Dekhan seems to have been, therefore, under the command of Skanda, though at the time of Parvati's marriage, sage Agastya had been deputed to migrate to the south and civilise the barbarous people inhabiting the Dandaka forest and the plains beyond. By the beauty of his person and the might of his arms, the young hero endeared himself to the natives of the soil and the culminating act of his grace in marrying a girl of the aboriginal hunter tribes by name Valli made him their most popular hero and god of worship later on.

While communication between the north and the south had been fairly established and people were taking more and more to peaceful arts and agricultural life, the Aryan settlers of the south were again subject to a fierce persecution by Ravana, the mighty lord of the island of Lanka who had usurped the throne of his half-brother Kubera of Vedic fame. Born of a Brahman father and an outcast mother he had all the low-mindedness of a half breed and the success of his raids in all directions emboldened him so far as to beard the lion even in his den of Mount Kailas. Curiously enough the two heroes became fast friends and the permanence of the attachment between the two was signalised by the graceful act of Rudra presenting the Rakshasa hero his sword of immortal fame and the other swearing eternal homage to the lord of Mount Kailas. He was even provided with a wife probably from among the clan of Rudras wife and after becoming the recipient of numerous favours at Rudra's hands, the grateful Ravana returned to his foes, confident as he now was, of the support of an Aryan chieftain who did not always look upon his own brethren with great favour.

It is a significant fact that in the earliest Tamil literature of South India, mention is more often made of Muruga, the Tamil name for Skanda than of Rudra his father. That shows clearly that the latter made his entry into the south much later than his second son and the story of his advent voiced feebly in the story of a South Indian shrine dedicated to god Siva throws some light on the obscurity of South Indian history of the remote ages. The peaceful penetration of Agastya and his disciples followed later on by the military expedition of Skanda had become the cause of the existence of a great deal of Aryan thoughts and conceptions in the remote parts of the Dekhan, so much so that it has now become difficult to contemplate an age when South India was in enjoyment of a civilization of its own uncontaminated by any foreign influence. The oldest gods of Tamilian worship are of Aryan origin, their first grammarian and law-giver is a Brahman Rishi and their oldest books treat of Aryan gods or of Aryan faiths. Rudra seems to have influenced the Dravidians of South India more than the men of his own clan in the north. It is he that is believed to have revealed the Tamil language to his devotee sage Agastya and commanded him to give it the shape of a civilised language in all its aspects of grammar, rhetoric and prosody. It is he that is said to have founded the Tamil Academy at Madura and filled it with the greatest scholars of the day. A reference or two found in early literature reveals the fact that there was an Aryan (Sanskrit) academy, known as Pathimandapam at Madura whose object seems to have been the investigation of religious truths more than literary pursuits of a mundane character. Evidently the Tamil Samgam was shaped on the model of the Aryan Pathimandapam and even in those early ages the conflict between Sanskrit and Tamil for supremancy seems to have begun.

One fact of startling importance to the literary world stands revealed by an obscure story of local fame. In Madura the greatest seat of all learning in those times, there seems to have existed a great library of Sanskrit books which shows that the wisdom of the north had been assiduously brought down to the south for the benefit of the people residing there. The existence of this library must be ascribed to the beneficence of great Rudra, the patron of all wisdom and learning. The fantastic story of his advent into South India runs as follows :—Once upon a time god Rudra was engaged in imparting the truths of a religious book in his hand known as Sivagnanabotham to his consort the divine Parvati. In a fit of listlessness she gave him rather a cold ear, which infuriated her consort so much that he burst out into a curse of condemning her to be born in the family of an illiterate outcast fisherman living on the coast of South India. When she broke out into loud lamentation of her hard lot, he, by way of pacification, assured her that he himself would come there and take her to wife. The unfortunate lady left her home to be born a maid in a low Parava family on the coast of the southern sea in the neighbourhood of Madura, the famous capital of the Pandya kings. Her eldest son Ganesa who just then heard of his father's ill-temper rushed into the palace, scattered away all the books in the Himalayan library towards the south and himself carrying a heavy load of books on his head, went in pursuit of his mother, so mercilessly discarded by his father. The second son Skanda grew so angry as to rush upon his father and tear away from his hand the fatal book which had been the cause of so much discord in his father's household. The father was too afraid of his first son to do him any harm, but he cursed the second to become a mute and to be born in an obscure family at Madura. The ever faithful Nandi was condemned to become a shark for his having unwarily allowed the two sons to come into his presence. Thus the Himalayan home was deserted and the entire family migrated towards the south. This curious story can admit of only one explanation that the revered champion of Vedic learning moved to the south with his whole family perhaps on account of some tribal feuds there and became the progenitor of Vedic learning and the founder of Aryan civilization in South India. There is no doubt that he was the founder of the two rival academies and that he encouraged the development of both cultures. No other Aryan chieftain from the north can claim the honour of having Aryanised South India so well as Rudra. All sciences, arts, literature and institutions prevailing in the south are ascribed to him even to-day and it is no wonder that his memory is revered most in South India.

We next find him marrying the daughter of a Pandya king and permanently settling in the home of his bride with a new name known as Sundarapandya. It was from here that he went to the city of the Parava chieftain, successfully entrapped the shark which had been working havoc on the fisheries in the gulf and won the hand of the chieftain's daughter as a reward of his exploit. His old intimacy with Ravana, the king of Ceylon, was now renewed with great cordiality on both sides. Ravana's wife Mandodari seems to have been attached to him with no less fervour than her husband and on her behalf he is said to have often walked over the sea and visited Ravana's Palace perhaps to console the unfortunate lady in her hard lot of being the spouse of an indifferent husband. The hero became tremendously popular in his new home and wherever he went he was received with open arms and honoured as the greatest of benefactors. He won the affections of both the Aryan and the non-Aryan settlers of South India and in their infatuation of their popular hero the natives of the soil even forgot his Aryan birth and looked upon him as of their own flesh and blood. Numerous stories have been invented of his adventures and exploits in the land of his adoption and even to this day they are narrated with great fervour by his admirers. The story of his adventures does not end here. He is said to have brought forth a son by name Ugra Pandya, who outshone his father in all his exploits. He is said to have led a successful expedition into Northern India and conquered all the territory in the neighbourhood of Mount Meru. So much about Rudra.

The stories connected with Indra are equally interesting and yield a great deal of historical information. As observed already he is the king of the gods and was deputed to rule over the east. The name of his capital, the white elephant he is believed to ride upon, the bevy of houris he is surrounded by and the immensity of power and influence he is said to have exercised over his own kinsmen and neighbours and a number of other details connected with his life and doings—point to the conclusion that he must have lived in Burma or Siam and that the early Aryans should have met with the greatest opposition from the non-Aryan tribes at first from the east. It must also be noted that the kingship of the gods was not looked upon as the birthright of any one hero, but it was regarded as office reserved only for the best man available. This fact throws some light on the polity of the early Aryans in India. The original form of government should have been essentially of a patriarchal character and the appointment of an elected king to manage the affairs of state should have been the work of a later age when population increased and social life became more complex. That his powers were limited and that he was to some extent under the control of his ministers and advisers is fully borne out by some curious stories found scattered here and there. Once a hero of the solar race by name Nahusha, became the king of the gods by virtue of his good deeds and martial exploits, but the moment he evinced a spirit of haughtiness and sensuality he was hurled down from his high office and cursed to become a mountain snake by Agastya, one of his chief advisers. Another time an Indra is said to have been expelled from his throne by Durwasa, a holy sage, who was affronted at Indra's behaviour when he presented him with a flower garland. He became an exile and wandered through the Southern countries, till he was restored to his throne by the kind intercession of Isana of immortal fame. Another Indra of a disreputable character is said to have tempted the wife of a holy sage and outraged her modesty, for which sin he was condemned to become a leper and bear his disgrace to the end of his existence. One Indra should have once ruled over the south and become a popular hero; because in early Tamil literature there are traces of immense honour done to him and melas and fairs held in commemoration of his beneficent deeds.

It must be remembered in this connection that in the ages when these events are said to have taken place the geographical condition of India was altogether different from what it is now and in the light of geological information now available many stories, otherwise absurd, are capable of bearing some historical investigation. The configuration of this continent in these ages cannot be better described than in the words of Sir Harry Johnstone in his book 'The Pioneers of India.' He writes :—" In that period of the earth's history which is known as the secondary epoch, and even during a good deal of the later Tertiary times, perhaps after man had come into existence, all Central and Southern India was separated from the great wall and foothills of the Himalayas by a shallow sea, represented at the present day by the basins of the Indus and the Ganges, the plains of India and the Sunderbunds. All central and Southern India was probably joined with Ceylon during the Secondary and the early Tertiary ages, and spread eastwards across the Bay of Bengal to Burma and the Malay Peninsula, which together with all the great Malay Islands and New Guinea was united by a continuous land surface with Australia. Westwards, Central and Southern India stretched across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar and East Africa, while West Africa was united fitfully with Brazil—then, perhaps, separated by a narrow sea from Andine South America............During the Tertiary Epoch the tablelands of Central Asia and the great range of the Himalaya mountains underwent considerable elevation, and with them rose the land now represented by the plains of India; while the narrow sea, once, perhaps, an eastern extension of the Mediterranean, dried up, its place being taken by the course of the two great rivers, the Indus on the west and the Ganges on the east. It has been surmised that man himself came into existence somewhere in Southern Asia, either in India or Malaysia, or possibly in the land, now sunk beneath the surface of the Bay of Bengal, which united these regions. In Southern India and Ceylon, in Burma, the Andaman Islands and Malaysia are found at the present day types of all the main divisions of the human species, etc."

Now we may understand how it might be possible for Kubera once to have ruled over Ceylon and then ousted out of his inheritance by his half-brother Ravana of Puranic fame. There are clear indications in Tamil literature that Kubera was once the lord of these parts and that he was even a member of the second Tamil Sangam said to have once flourished in the land now sunk in the sea beyond Cape Comorin. Inter-tribal feuds and alliances are often found clothed in fantastic mythical garbs and, if divested of their unearthly elements, they are often capable of yielding historical information, of even a startling nature. The mythical story of sage Agastya migrating to the south with a band of disciples finds ample corroboration in the annals of the early Tamilian races, who looked upon him as the Patron saint of their language, literature and medical art. King Ravana, in one of his raids, is said to have visited the hermitage of sage Agastya with no friendly intentions, but the clever Brahman had him transfixed to the earth on which he was seated by the power of his music. He was released from his awkward condition only on his agreeing upon an oath that he would no more intrude upon his peaceful life. Perhaps the story of Agastya's drinking away the ocean at one draught relates to the reclamation of some marsh in the neighbourhood of the sea and making it fit for human cultivation or habitation. The legend relating to the origin of the Kauvery river fully bears out the historicity of such stories. Sage Agastya is said to have brought a vessel of holy Ganga water when he migrated to the south to purify the fountains in his new home. The vessel which he had inadvertently placed on the top of a hill was purposely upset by a crow sent by Indra. Out flowed the water in a stream and formed the mighty river of the Kauvery which was once navigable and contributed not a little to the glory of the Chola kings of old. The story admits of no other interpretation than that sage Agastya had the engineering skill of diverting the flow of water from the Coorg hills towards the eastern plains. The story of king Satyavrata and his advantures with a monster fish at the time of the great deluge (a story which finds some parallel in the Jewish account of Noah's ark) unmistakably points to the conclusion that the human species should have had its revival after the deluge in South India.

Hero worship is a necessary weakness of human nature and when the idea of godhood has been once fathered upon a hero numerous stories of superhuman adventures and exploits of his come into existence. In course of time, whatever, is strictly true and historical, becomes hopelessly entangled in a tissue of superstition and mythology. Such has been the stories of the ancient Greek and Teutonic heroes and the heroes of the earliest Indo-Aryan race have had the same amount of glorification accorded to them by their grateful posterity. This article, therefore, cannot be better concluded than in the memorable words of Pococke, a writer of immense original research in the field of early Aryan history :

"The patriarchal system had produced families which had grown into nations, who looked back upon the memory of their venerable founder, with a feeling of the deepest reverence; that feeling amounted to adoration. The father of a nation became its god. The same effect was produced by the successful warrior, and the true or fictitious ascetic. It is clear that the historical canon so far from being more rigidly interpreted, must be relaxed till it is placed upon a footing that shall harmonize with that state of society of which the historian is treating. To do otherwise would be to offer violence to the just feelings of our nature, and the practical tests of sound judgment. The existence of an agent may rationally be credited, while the machinery by which the agency is said to have been effected, may be purely poetical or possibly inventive. In these cases of strange or fabulous record, it will be the duty of the patient inquirer after truth, to allow its full influence to the power of time, which should as reasonably be supposed to have as much effect upon truth as upon the noblest structure reared by human hands."

T. R. RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR

LESSING'S FABLES

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was born on the 25th of January, 1729, at Camenz in Oberlausitz. His father was a clergyman (Prediger), and Lessing received his first education at home, and then in the school at Camenz and that at Meissen. He then went to study theology at Leipzig, but was soon drawn aside by other interests. In 1748, at the age of 19, he brought out at the theatre at Leipzig his first literary attempt in the comedy of 'The Young Prodigy' (Der Junge Gelehrte). His father who did not very much appreciate the young theologian's connection with the stage at Leipzig, peremptorily summoned him home. However, he soon returned to Leipzig, and then went to Wittenberg, where he matriculated in medicine in 1748. Being now determined to follow his predilection for literature, he practically without means of any sort, went with that object to Berlin. Here he supported himself by his literary labours, and contributed his celebrated articles to Voss's journal. In 1751 he published a volume of poems entitled 'Kleinig-Keiten' (Trifles). In 1753 he commenced the publication of his writings in six volumes. In 1755 he wrote his tragedy of 'Miss Sarah Sampson,' and in the same year he returned to Leipzig. Here he resided till 1757 and maintained himself by his labours in the province of Art and History. From 1758 to 1760 he was in Berlin, where in 1759 he commenced his celebrated series of critical essays (Literaturbriefe), published his Fables, and other works, and became in 1760 a Fellow of the Academy. In the same year he went to Breslau as secretary to General von Tauenzien. During his stay in Breslau he published little, moved a great deal in society, and collected material for his future works. In 1763 appeared 'Minna von Barnhelm.' In 1765 he returned to Berlin where he laboured at his 'Laokoon,' which appeared in 1766. In 1767 he went to Hamburg to found a

National Theatre. In this he was unsuccessful ; but to this period of his life we are indebted for his 'Dramaturgie'—a dissertation on dramatic literature. In 1769 appeared the result of his antiquarian researches in the form of 'Briefe antiquarischen Inhalts.' In 1769 appeared 'Wie die Altenden Tod gebildet' (What the Ancients thought of Death). In the same year he obtained the post of librarian at Wolfenbüttel, where, with the exception of some journeys to Vienna, and Italy, he remained to the end of his life. In 1772 appeared 'Emilia Galotte.' The publication of his 'Fragmentedes Wolfenbuttelschen Ungenaunte' involved him in religious and theological controversies which embittered his last years ; but it is to this period of his life that literature is indebted for his greatest works, *viz.*, 'Anti-Goezi' (1778), 'Nathan der Weise' (1779), and 'Die Erziehung des Meuschengeschlechts' (1780). Lessing died in Wolfenbüttel on the 15th of February, 1781, in the 52nd year of his life. This, in the briefest possible compass, is the chart, or log-book, of the life, the movements, and the work of this celebrated man.

Lessing is acknowledged to be the founder of modern criticism in literature and art. In the individual, as in the age, the critical faculty is rarely found to exist in any remarkable degree, together with the creative faculty. The former generally kills out the latter. Lessing is an example of the contrary. From nature he had received both ; and he made good use of her gifts. Coleridge, among us, is a conspicuous example of this rare combination.

To the English reader the name of Lessing is known chiefly perhaps by the one work of his that has been translated into English, *viz.*, 'Nathan the Wise,' often referred to as 'the Ring' of Lessing, for it is the story of a ring. It is a work that has been subjected to much hostile criticism ; but the consensus of opinion, among those competent to judge of such matters, is in its favour. It is one of those unrivalled productions of genius, which, from their very originality and vigour, present different aspects to different readers, and cannot be disposed of by such short summary judgments as 'good,' or 'bad,' or 'indifferent,' many passages which some may think had better not have been written are the very ones which in others provoke induced currents of thought which work out to good results, and produce fruit: when not informative they are suggestive, or when neither, they still work by that powerful law of association which is the foundation of all art. Swift's 'Tale of a Tub' is such a work. Some will not read it. No one is sorry for having read it.

Putting aside the larger and more elaborate works of Lessing, there is a small, and very select portion, to which I would draw the attention of the reader, *viz.*, his Fables. A fable is a very small thing to look at, but yet there have been very few writers of fables. The truth is it is one of the most difficult kinds of composition which a writer may address himself to. It is the perception of truth in the form of images, the viewing of things from a special standpoint, the knack, or instinct of at once grasping the relation and correlation of objects, and actions, and tendencies, and focussing them into one neat compact image, or central idea; and it requires a certain habit of thought, which has as its groundwork the general proposition so admirably expressed in these two lines of Goethe :—

Alles Vergängliche
Ist nur ein Gleichnis.
(All passing things
Are only likenesses).

It would seem that a fable cannot be cold-bloodedly constructed : the idea of it is presented, as it were, in a flash. A fable demands perfection. If the workmanship falls short of perfection it fails completely, and miserably.

The list of great fabulists is a small one. Æsop among the old Greeks, Pilpai and the Panchatantra among the old

Indians—this is about all that is commonly known. Grimm, Meissner, Halle, and Bone have written fables, but they are few, and not to be compared with those of Lessing. All have read Æsop. Some have read Pilpai. Lessing's fables I have not yet met with in English ; yet they are a most interesting and extraordinary set of little pieces—gems, each in itself. Lessing, it seems, threw them out as chips from his great workshop of ideas, compact generalisations formed from time to time as he lived, and thought, very pertinent little 'asides' in the great drama of life, which all of us, whether Lessings or not, have to go through.

The fable is a kind of picture-writing in words, or a cipher-writing which requires no key, or of which everyone has the key : where this is not the case, the fable fails. The end of a fable is truth without art, or with art as a mere concomitant, and brought in only in respect of the arrangement of its parts, and the selection of words. It is a microscopically small drama. The object of the drama, in the words of the greatest of dramatists, is to hold, as it were, the mirror up to nature. The fable is a little facet, or hand looking-glass—no one fails to see his face or image in it not always a pretty one. Only one object at a time is presented by it, and that is made as clear to everyone who looks into this glass, that it cannot escape detection. It is a picture puzzle, but only in name. There is something defective in the fable which requires the moral to be tagged on at the end.

Lessing, the poet, the dramatist, and the scholar, belongs to that class of writers who, for better or for worse, chose the thorny path of literature as a profession. With many paths of life before him, any one of which might have led him to honour, or affluence, or position, or worldly prosperity, he chose, early in life, and against the wishes of his father, the most arduous, and the most precarious of all. The decisiveness of this early choice, and the noble self-sacrificing determination and perseverance with which he followed it out to the end of his life are both alike remarkable and worthy of admiration. His life was not easy. He had to wring everything from fortune. Nothing was sent to him in sleep. But only in a few fables, a few scattered passages, and 'asides,' as it were, do we find any trace of the thousand bitter that he had to encounter on his way. It may be doubted whether any parent would advise his son to choose the pursuit of literature as a profession. Scott, whose word may be depended upon, said that literature is a good stick, but a bad crutch. Coleridge, with greater detail, said the same. (See his remarks on this subject in his Biographia Literaria.) Byron regretted that he was a man of letters, and not a man of action; and whatever may be said of his life, his death was one of the noblest, that of a man of action fighting for the liberties of a people whose remote ancestors he had admired. The phlegmatic and philosophical Hume, borne down by disappointment and neglect, was on the point of expatriating himself. See what Dryden says of himself, almost at the end of his life:—'For what other reason have I spent my life in so unfortunate a study? Why am I grown old in seeking so barren a reward as fame? The same parts and application which have made me a poet might have raised me to any honors of the gown, which are often given to men of as little learning, and less honesty, than myself.' Carlyle is our last great man of letters—but then with him literature was a sacred duty, and he stands apart from all others, as a preacher, a sage, a prophet, who took upon himself to become a conscript of literature. (See his reminiscences.) We shall never have such another.

The transaction of the last years of Lessing's life, as in the case of many another noble spirit, have, by reason of their relationship with a great world question, placed his fame and reputation in a somewhat dubious light. This is what might have happened to John Sterling had not the generous magnanimity of a friend (Carlyle) rescued him, and put him on his legs again. However, in estimating the 'form and pressure' of any great writer among the moderns, the world asks, and must ask, what answer he has to give to the question couched in these old lines:—

Resolve me this one question, friend—
What are thy thoughts of Jove?

or more particularly—What is his attitude towards Christianity? If his attitude is hostile, he cannot succeed, or be more than a mere passing influence—or he will be relegated to the neutral sphere of pale colourless art only. In this respect it may broadly be stated that almost all the great writers of modern times, constituting what may be called modern standard literature, are arrayed on the right side. But the border-line has to be fixed with great liberality, or some of the finest spirits that have animated human clay, may be arbitrarily, and unjustly, placed on the wrong side of the line. No 'index expurgatorium' will be of any use here. A narrow verbal criticism will be worse than useless. It is the whole general influence and tendency of a man's work that counts; and the criticism that is to decide this point should be dominated by that liberal generous spirit, and whole-hearted devotion to truth, of which the best examples are to be found in Carlyle's wonderful estimates of men and character, where in every instance, the reader feels that that great man has said the last word on the subject. Judged in this way, it will be found that Lessing belongs to that group of writers who transcend the narrower limits of race or sect; and of his attitude towards Christianity, beyond saying that he was a Christian, nothing more can, or need, be said. The classification stops here. Faraday, wholly neglecting the multitudinous lines of cleavage, which divide sect from sect, chose to attach himself to the small, and almost despised communion of the Sandemanians. Laing has some very sharp-sighted remarks on this sectarian pigeon-holing of personalities, with reference to Macaulay, and Carlyle himself, and George Eliot. Narrow the criticism, and some of the worthiest of the sons of men will have to be put on the wrong side of the line—and there also will be seen, stalking like a banned spectre, the mild, generous, and most beautiful spirit of Shelley.

History is like an hour-glass. Everything in history, like the sand in an hour-glass, converges to a point in Christianity, and from there spreads out again: or, everything in history conveys to a point in Christianity, and from that point spreads out again like a fan. Everyone, be he a great writer like Lessing, or an unknown individual doing his duty in obscurity, but 'as ever in his great Task-master's eye'—everyone, whose action, or influence runs along, and not counter to, this great and only true current of life, furthers, to some extent, the cause of Christianity. This, perhaps, is why the great Master has so strictly enjoined us—'Judge not': and here also may be found a commentary on that beautiful passage, which appears only in Matthew's Gospel, where it is said that many, who never thought they know Him, will be known by Him, and many, who thought they knew Him, will be utterly unknown. Both will ask—'When saw we Thee?'—one by way of surprise, and the other, of excuse—but they shall receive different answers.

Lessing had the gift of expressing things in such a manner as made even common things beautiful, and everything he said 'go home.' Of him it may be said that he possessed the charmed ring which is the subject of his 'Nathan der Weise,' and of which he thus wrote:—

Der Stein ware in
Opal der hundert schöne Farben spielte,
Und hatte die geheime kraft........................
.......................angenehm zu machen.

The name of Lessing stands high in the roll of great men and writers whom Germany produced in the eighteenth century—beginning with Gellert and Klopstock, and ending with Pestalozzi and Jean Paul Friedrich Richtar, Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Herder, Winckelmann, Lavater, Lichtenberg, Fichte, Schopenhauer, the two Humboldts, Schleiermacher, Schlegel, Novalis, and Home—come within this list of great names. In no age, in no country, is such another list to be found. In this list is to be found the names of the men who shed a lustre on their nation, and carried the name of Germany to every corner of the globe ; and people who have never heard their names have benefited by their labours in the common cause of the advancement of humanity. The men of action and the men of thought whom Germany produced within this period are the men who raised her to the summit of human glory and greatness—and here the matter ends. Melancholy, indeed, is it to turn from the picture of this Germany of the eighteenth century to the Germany of the twentieth—from so much glory to so much obloquy.

> Look here, upon this picture, and on this—
> The counterfeit presentment of two brothers.

I have here selected twelve of Lessing's Fables, and presented them in verse, or rather rhyme—a double transition, being a translation from German into English, and a change of the structure, or form, from prose to verse, or rhyme. The central ideas remain exactly the same ; but in some I have taken the liberty of expanding certain sentences, and illustrative images—in other words, I have, in these instances, neglected the phraseology, and while transplanting the ideas, have re-embodied them in English words, and sentences.

Everyone of these twelve selected fables have something remarkable in it, something which is not to be found anywhere else. All contain a certain veiled satire, or sarcasm, with just that proportion of bitterness which serves to give them effectiveness, or strength—as a glass of whisky and soda is improved and made 'salubrious' by the addition of a drop of Angostura bitters. Sometimes it is just a sudden spirit of querulousness, a passing sigh, or interjection of protest, or lamentation, at the sight of things as they are, but which ought, and which Lessing, like many another, has vainly wished, should not be so, a slant, or home-thrust at that stalking spectre pride, or stilted conceit, or arrogance, which are said to eat one up, at hypocrisy, and worldliness, which make of religion and conscience a shibboleth or a futility, or that queer way we have of laying a flattering unction to our souls when we want to get out of a hole, or self-interest vainly striving to disguise itself by words of hollow outward sympathy, or selfish cunning making capital out of another's stupid diligence, or the bouncing spirit of flat insipid writers or the cavilling at adverse public opinion when the fault lies at home, and similiar just objects of satire, or ridicule. But there are three among these twelve fables which stand out in remarkable brilliancy. Those are, 'The Wolf on his Deathbed,' 'The Sparrows and the Church' and 'The Lion and the Hare.' The first of them is very skilfully constructed. It is a fable whose whole point lies in another fable wrought into it. This minor fable is the old familiar one of the wolf and the stork. The idea of making the fox, in the circumstance described in Lessing's fable, remind the wolf of the incident related of him in the fable of Æsop, is a brilliant master-stroke of art. This one fable, had Lessing written no other, would have been sufficient to stamp him as a born fabulist. The conscious artist also is here visible in this fine, though small, production.

The production of fables in an earlier age, and the production, or working out of them in a later, when knowledge and science have advanced and become critical, are two different things—as is the case also with poetry. Æsop, undoubtedly, is the prince of fabulists; but if, to intrinsic merit, we add the difficultness of production, the palm goes to Lessing. Æsop, too, is said to have been gathered with many of the old fables, not his, but which now go by his name. No one knows the origin, or the authors of old folk-tales. They appear simple and natural enough, but if any one is so deceived as to fancy that he can, at this time of day, sit down and write the like, he will find that he has calculated without his host. A folk-tale cannot now be made for love, or money, or to order.

The fable of 'the Sparrows and the Church' is a very short one, but one which is calculated to give rise to a great variety of reflections. It is one of Lessing's best; and I think I have damaged it in the translation and transformation. The foible aimed at in the fable of the lion and the hare is caricatured and laid bare in a most beautiful and amiable manner.

Lessing's life was not a bed of roses, and his last years were clouded by that most profitless and blighting of controversies—religious controversy—but there is no trace of malignity or bitterness in his writings. There is something in his manner, and the standpoint from which he viewed things, that reminds one of Landor.

The flight of two centuries has already settled the literary fame of Lessing the writer. With regard to the personality of the man Lessing, his 'Nathan der Weise,' and 'Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts' speak for themselves, and will continue to plead with posterity for his name.

With these few introductory lines I have this rhymed version of Lessing's Fables to make way for itself. If it fails, the reader may rest assured that the fault lies with the translator or the versifier.

(1)

THE COCK AND THE PEACOCK

The peacock once said to the hen—
"Fie!—What unreasonable men!—
See, how the cock struts stiff, and proud;
Hear, how he crows out long and loud;—
And yet they never say, or talk,
Or make a phrase like this—'Proud cock.'
But always thus they speak of us—
'Proud peacock'—This is slanderous."
"That comes,"—the hen thus made reply—
"Not that these men do like to lie:
They overlook, and pass aside
A proper, and well-grounded pride:
The cock is of its watchfulness
Proud properly, nor should it less—
But you—What of?—proud pompous Red-toes!—
Mere gaudy colors, Oes, and feathers."

(2)

THE WOLF AND THE SHEPHERD

A shepherd once was deep depressed:
His whole flock lost by gruesome pest.
The wolf had heard of this by chance,
And came to offer condolence.
"Good shepherd,"—said he,—"is it true—
This doleful thing I've heard of you?
The plague?—What?—Has't made a clean sweep?—
And left you not a single sheep?
And shall I hear—misfortune sore!—
The pretty lambkins bleat no more?
Poor little dears!—What?—The whole lot?—
The good and upright gone to pot!
O, that I had a heart of wood—
Oh—I could just shed tears of blood."

" Thanks, Mister Grimcold,"—said the other,—
" Thou'rt ever tender for another.
Pray, bear up—do not too much smart—
'Twill burst—Thou hast so tender heart."
" Yes, that he has indeed,"—chimed in
The shepherd's faithful dog within,—
" So often he—and then alone—
In's neighbour's damage sees his own."

(3)

THE SPARROWS AND THE CHURCH

There was an old cathedral, which
Afforded many a nook and niche,
Where, year by year, from east, and west,
The sparrows came and built their nest.
And every year these nooks they found,
And built their nests there safe, and sound,
And went and came, and came and went,
With every year the same intent.
But now at last there came a day—
This old church was got under way,
For alterations, and repairs,
Here, there, above, and below stairs—
New made again—quite changed its skin—
What once was outside now was in,
And nooks and niches in the wall
Were plastered up, each one, and all.
Now when the old cathedral stood
Grand there, as a cathedral should,
These many sparrows came again,
And sought their ancient nooks—In vain—
They found them plastered up, and walled,
And everything quite overhauled.—
" What use ? "—they chirped,—" This monstrous pile !—
This mighty mass of brick, and tile—
Come—let's away—ch-r-r-r—make no bones—
Let's leave this useless heap of stones."

(4)

THE WOLF ON HIS DEATH-BED

The old wolf lay on's bed of death,
Graaning away his latest breath.
And now when his last hour had come,
He cast some searching glances home,
To work out, by a true account,
To how much did his sins amount.
" True, I'm a sinner "—he went on,—
Yet hope I'm not the biggest one.
I've done some evil things, I know,—
But then, I've done some good also :
For instance, I remember well—
As many witnesses can tell—
How once when quite—quite—close to me,
A little lamb came bleatingly—
So near—I could have—I declare—
Have swallowed it up, skin and hair—
What did I to the tender kid ?—
What did ?—I simply nothing did !—
And this was just about the time,
When, with indifference sublime,
I heard a great sheep threat, and mock—
And no hound near to guard the flock."
" To all this I can certify,"—
The fox said, who came sauntering by,
And by his cousin-german sat,
To have a little last chit-chat,
Some comfortable word to say,
And cheer, and speed him on his way—
" Yes, I too can remember well
The whole affair, and how it fell
It was that very time, when you—
When—h'm—when you were in a stew,
And went about from place to place,
A hang-dog look upon your face,
And gasping, comfortless, alone—
It was that—ugh !—that horrid bone—

That bone stuck deep down in your throat
The bone the generous stork pulled out."

(5)

THE OSTRICH.

"Now I will fly—look!—now I'll fly,"—
The mighty ostrich once did cry.
And all the lesser birds, all fowl,
And e'en the day-blind round-eyed owl,
All small and great, the feathered nation.,
Stood round in silent expectation.—
"Now I will fly"—again he cried,
And spread his mighty wings out wide.
Then, like a ship, with sails unwound,
He shot along the level ground—
"Now I will fly,"—he cried,—"now—see"!—
He never left the ground—not he—
But flapped his wings in desperate pinch,
Nor left the solid earth an inch.
See here an image suiting well
Those clodpates unpoetical,
Who, in the opening lines and strokes
Of their unread enormous works,
Threatened with boastful wing to fly
Over the hills, and o'er the sky,
And far above the stars to soar—
And keep on threatening, more and more—
And all the while—as do they must—
Stick fast, and faithful to the dust.

(6)

THE APE AND THE FOX.

"Name me the best, the noblest beast,
I cannot imitate at least."

So boastfully the ape one day
Unto a sly old fox did say.
The other looked him eye to eye,
And thereupon thus made reply—
" Name me the worst would care to—Phew—
To imitate the likes of you.
Ye writers of my nation, shall
I make it less equivocal?

(7)

THE BLIND HEN.

They say not what the land, or clime—
But somewhere—once upon a time,
There was—there was—there was a hen,
And this hen had grown blind—what then?
She had been used for many a day
To scratch, as hens still do, or may—
For some chance poor precarious grain—
And when she failed, she scratched again—
Making strange furrows came to light,
As some do when they mean to write.
And thus she scratched with bended neck,
And when a grain turned up—would peck.
Sometime on one leg she would stand,—
Then go on scratching in the sand.
But now when she was blind?—Why?—Well—
Kept scratching on as usual.
With stately mien she came, and went,
And went on grave, and diligent.—
What use?—O blind laborious fool!—
A seeing hen, young, plump, and cool,
And smart on both legs, and discreet,
And loth to hurt her tender feet,
Here found a ready tool, and she
Made profit by this industry,
And never left the blind hen's side,
Until this poor old blind hen died,

Nor scratched in sun, nor scratched in shade—
For why?—'Twas all there ready-made—
Came off first best, without a scratch,
The other toiled—she did but watch—
Got all she needed, and to boot,
She spared her tender little foot;
For when the blind industrious hen
A grain here now, a grain there then.
Turned up by chance—no sooner done—
But pecked it off the seeing one.

(8)

THE GOOSE

There was a little goose, and lo!
Its feathers were as white as snow.
And then this little goose was proud,
As any goose well may, or should—
And thought—but here she went too far—
" I'm not as other goosies are"—
And thought to give herself a lift
By reason of this blinding gift,
Which now the more she thought upon,
The more believed she was a swan,
And rather that was born to be,
Than what she was'n reality.
Thus swelled with pride she kept apart
From all the goosies of her sort.
Puffed up, and solitarily,
She swam with gravest majesty
The little ditch around, and round—
Among her own was never found.
Now did she strive with might and main
To squirm her neck, and stretch, and strain,
And tired its shortness to get o'er—
She's else a goose, and nothing more—
And strove the matter now to mend,
By giving it that graceful bend,

Which lifts the swan above the herd,
And stamps her as Apollo's bird.
Poor little goose—she strove in vain—
She might have snapped her neck in twain.
That neck was all too stiff, and fat—
There was no getting over that.
And all her labour came to this—
She could not satisfy her wish—
And though she might a swan pretend—
Remained a goosie to the end.

(9)

THE LION AND THE HARE.

A lion once did condescend
To honor as his bosom friend
A little hare; and oft the great
With little had a tete-a-tete:
" But is it true "—the hare once said,—
" You lions, great of heart, and head,
Are put to flight, and get a shock
At crowing of a scurvy cock? "
" By all means, yes—exactly so,"—
The lion growled—" Why ?—Don't you know,
We mighty beasts have, what you call,
A certain little weak point all ?—
For instance, how—you must have heard—
The elephant is stunned, and scared,
And 'gins to tremble like a twig
At grunting of a mangey pig."
" By Jove! 'tis true,"—replied the hare—
" Indeed, you've laid the matter bare:
'Tis why—I now can plainly see—
We hares do quake so terribly,
And scamper off, and skip, and bound,
No sooner do we hear a hound."

(10)

THE RAVEN AND THE FOX

Good reader, if you read this rime,
You'll know that once upon a time
A raven floating high in air,
And spotting all things everywhere,
Spotted—and thought it quite a treat—
A tempting piece of poisoned meat,
A gardener, angry, old, and fat,
Had thrown there for his neighbour's cat,
And swooping down with ravenous maw
Carried the meat off in his claw,
And sitting on that old oak tree—
We've heard of, but may never see—
And, for he long had fasting been,
Was just about to tuck it in.
A fox now passing 'neath the oak
Looked up, and saw, and this-wise spoke—
"Be gracious—Look down on one here—
O favoured bird of Jupiter."
"Whom dost thou take me for?" replied
The raven pleasantly surprised.
"Whom take thee for?" returned the fox—
"Whom but the feeder of his flocks:
Art not the eagle bold, and pious,
Who daily, by the laws of Zeus,
Cam'st down upon this old oak tree,
With tit-bits for the poor, like me?
But wherefore thus thyself disguise?
Think'st thou that I have not got eyes
To see that thing—pray, do not caw—
Suspended in thy mighty claw—
The prayed for boon which Zeus hath
Sent down for me:—Don't tell me that."
The raven all transmogrified,
And inwardly rejoiced beside,
To find himself mistaken for
The eagle, great in beak and claw—

Thought he—" I'll something of this make—
I'll leave the fox in his mistake."
With dolthead magnanimity
He let the meat fall from the tree;
And gulping down a caw, or two,
With swelling pride away he flew.
The fox, thus having scored at last,
Pounced greedy on the cheap repast,
With evil joy, and evil haste,
Fell to, and said—" I like the taste,"—
And brumming like an old bassoon,
He smiled—his whiskers danced to tune.
But soon his joy was turned to pain:
The poison worked with might and main—
And now it only doth remain
To say, he never smiled again.
So every cursèd flatterer let
Always, and nought but poison get.

(11)

A SQUABBLE FOR BEASTLY PRECEDENCE

[*A fable in four parts*]

I

Now listen—Once upon a time,
And without reason, without rime,
Among the beasts, both small and great,
There bubbled up a fierce debate.
A little maggot it appears
Set them together by the ears—
As if they'd nothing else to do,
But fight out as to 'who is who.'
They fell to arguing, and disputing,
And controverting, and refuting,
With great heat, and with little sense,
About a rule of precedence.

Now, though they argued loud, and long,
No two of them could be at one,
But far, and further went astray—
At last the Horse put in—" I say
There'll be no end to this debate—
Let's get some one to arbitrate.
And who—all things considered—can
Be fitter for this job than Man?
He's none of us, and therefore best
In no one side has interest,
And can the better weigh, and try us
With conscience clear, and without bias."
" That's enough—that's not the whole"—
Squeaked in the blind dissenting Mole—
But has he understanding too?
If not—I say—he will not do.
This understanding too must be
The best—or, else, how shall he see
Of our good points a single trace?—
He'll judge us only by the face.
Our deep perfections—they shall sleep
Unnoticed—He'll see but skin-deep."
" Well said—There's sense in that—a lot—"
Added the tim'rous shy Marmot.
" Indeed—I too"—the eagle said—
" Could never get it in my head
That Man has got the proper stuff,
Or has got insight keen enough."
" Now"—said the Horse—" I pray you, stop—
I know you—let that matter drop—
For he whose cause is still the worst,
'Tis he who always will be first
The Judge to slander, and bespatter,
And say he does not know the matter."

II

Thus after many ' hums,' and ' ha's,'
A Man was got to judge the cause.

" But wait a bit "—the Lion said—
One word, I pray—then go ahead :
What is the standard by which you'll
Judge of our worth, or by what rule
Our places fix ?—pray, tell me first—
And, Man—then do your best, and worst."
" What rule, or standard " ?—said the Man—
" Why ?—without doubt, no other than
This one plain test—plain as two two's—
How much to Me you are of use."
" O that is rich indeed,"—replied
The Lion little gratified—
" How far then will I—at one pass—
Be shunted down below the Ass.
Oh no—you cannot judge us, Man—
Be off—and quickly as you can."

III

The Man departed. Then the Mole
Said mocking from his darksome hole,
And with him sided—who think you ?—
The Eagle—and the Marmot too—
" Now—do you see—you Horse there—you—
You—you—you disbelieving Jew ?
The Lion makes no mash of it—
He says—What says he ?—' Man's not fit.'
I told you so—Now don't you see ?—
The Lion thinks the same as we."
" Yes—but on better grounds than you "—
The Lion growled—" Yes—that I do "—
And cast on them a withering look,
And roared out till the welkin shook.

IV

And now when none would give, or bend,
And seemed as things would never end,
The Lion with majestic air
Put clincher on the whole affair.

" Stop now "—he roared out—" On my life—
This is a wishy-washy strife—
All's one to me if among beast
I'm held the greatest, or the least—
Know what I am—and of what stuff—
And that's enough for me—enough ! "
With this he swished his tail about,
And looked all round, and then walked out.
Him followed then the Elephant,
Him followed too the little Ant;
The Horse, the Tiger, and the Fox,
And then a brace of fighting Cocks—
In short, all those who felt, or thought
That in themselves they felt their worth.
While those who were the last to go,
Complaining most that things were so—
Still murmuring among the few
Now left behind—a scurvy crew—
That things should come to such a pass—
They were—the Monkey !—and the Ass !

(12)

THE FOX AND THE THORN

A fox pursued with hound and horn
Once jumped a garden wall upon,
And then to save a nasty fall,
And breaking of his neck, and all—
To climb down on the other side—
Caught at a shrub which he espied,
And let him gently down, but—ugh!—
Got scratched all over, black and blue.
Oh miserable helpers !—wincing cried
The fox, now safe on th' other side—
" Who cannot one a good turn do
Without a scurvy trick, or two."

B. G. Steinhoff

EMINENT WOMEN OF INDIA DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

"Let us consider women only as they already are, or as they are known to have been; and the capacities which they have already practically shown. What they have done, that at least, if nothing else, it is proved that they can do."—*John Stuart Mill.*

"They (women) fall short not in capacity but in opportunity."[1]

I. Āṇḍāl, the ninth of the Ālvārs.

In the history of Tamil Vaisnavism we find that there were quite a large number of Hymn-composers and peripatetic teachers, of whom twelve are specially remembered and honoured as saints; they are known as the "Twelve Ālvārs." Of these twelve, the ninth in the traditional chronological order, is the lady saint, Āṇḍāl. The practice of the Ālvārs was to compose hymns and to teach their cult by moving about from place to place. The exact dates of these Ālvārs are controversial. After comparing the dates given by different authorities, my impression is that we will not be far from truth in placing her about the ninth century A. D.

II. Lakmidevi, the preacher of the Sahajayāna form of Buddhism.

Sahajayāna form of Buddhism owes its origin to the preaching of Indrabhuti and "his gifted daughter Lakmidevi." (Mahāmahopādhāya Haraprasad Sastri in "The Dacca Review," Vol. XI, No. 7, p. 98.) It is certain that they were exponents of a school of profound philosophy and mystical cult, though unfortunately, that gradually lost the original significance and purity, and degenerated into indecent and impure practices.

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[1] "Social Adjustment," Dr. Scott Neuring, New York (1911).

III. The wife of Naḍa Pandit.

As regards the origin of the sect known as "Naḍa-Naḍi" Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri is of opinion that "in the tenth century A. D., five hundred years before Chaitanya, there was a preacher of Sahajiyā doctrine in Bengal called Naḍa Pandit and he had a wife more learned than himself and that their followers might be called "Naḍa-Naḍi." (*Ibid*, p. 100.)

IV. Sultan Raziyya.

About her, who belonged to about the middle of the thirteenth century, the author of Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī, the only contemporary authority of the time writes:[1]

"Sultan Raziyya was a great sovereign, and sagacious, just, beneficent, the patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice, the cherisher of her subjects, and of warlike talent, and was endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for kings;"

V. Muktā Bāī, the Marāthā saint of the thirteenth century.

She was a noble, devout soul. I quote below the translation of one of her Psalms, written as remonstrance to an angry brother, who had shut his doors against her:

"Graciously thy heart incline:—
Open to me, brother mine!
He's a saint who knoweth how
To the world's abuse to bow.
Great of soul indeed is he,—
Wholly purged of vanity.
Surely he whose soul is great
Is to all compassionate.

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[1] P. 637, Major H. G. Raverty's translation of "Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī," London, 1881.

Thou pervading Brahman art,
How should anger fill thy heart?
Such a poise should be thine,
Open to me, brother mine![1]

She has a fairly excellent mystic Psalm on "the land of topsy-turvy," translated in the same book from which I have just quoted this Psalm; by that title she means the truer world which only enlightened insight can penetrate into, where all these apparental divergences have ceased to be, merged in the Absolute.

VI. Janā Bāī.

Her outlook was pantheistic. She composed many mystic Psalms. I quote the translation of one of them:

"Of God my meal and drink I make,
God is a bed on which I lie.
God is whate'er I give or take;
God's constant fellowship have I.
For God is here and God is there,—
No place that empty is of Him."[2]

She belongs to the fourteenth century.

VII. Mirā Bāī, the princess of Jodhpur, and the Ranī of Mewar, of the fifteenth century.

Her devotional lyrics in honour of Kṛishṇa have won her enduring fame. Keay in his "Hindi Literature" writes:

> "The lyrics of Mirā Bāī are occupied with intense devotion to Kṛishṇa, though in some of them she uses the name of Rama also for God. They are written in the Braj Bhāshā dialect and are graceful and melodious verses."

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[1] From "Psalms of Mārāthā Saints," "The Heritage of India" Series.

[2] *Ibid.*

I subjoin three of her lyrics :

1. "I laugh when I behold my beloved; people think I weep.
I have planted the vine of love, and irrigated it again and again, with the water of tears;
I have cast away fear of the world ; what can any one do to me?
Mira's love for her gods is fixed, come what may.[1]

2. "God (Kṛishṇa) hath entwined my soul, O Mother,
With His attributes, and I have sung of them.
The sharp arrow of His love hath pierced my body through and through, O Mother.
When it struck me I knew it not: now it cannot be endured, O Mother,
Though I use charms, incantations, and drugs, the pain will not depart.
Is there any one who will treat me? Intense is the agony, O Mother.
Thou, O God, art near; Thou art not distant; come quickly to meet me.
Saith Mira, the lord, the mountain-wielder, who is compassionate, hath quenched the fire of my body, O Mother.
The Lotus-eyed hath entwined my soul with the twine of His attributes." [2]

3. "O God, remove thy servant's sufferings;
Thou didst supply Draupadi with endless robes and save her modesty;
For the sake of thy saint Prahlad thou didst assume the body of a man-lion;
Thou didst kill Hiranyakashipu, who had not the courage to oppose thee;
Thou didst kill the crocodile and extricate the drowning elephant from the water.
O beloved Girdhar (Kṛishṇa), Mira is thy slave; her enemies everywhere annoy her.
Take me, my friend, take me to thy care as thou knowest best
I have none but thee; do thou show mercy unto me.

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[1] Macauliffe's "Sikh Religion," Clarendon Press, Oxford, Vol. 6, p. 346.

[2] Macauliffe's "Sikh Religion," Vol. VI, p. 356.

I have no appetite by day and no sleep by night; my body
pineth away.
Lord of Mirā, all-wise Kṛishṇa, come to me now; I cannot
live in thine absence.[1]

VIII. Nur-Jehan.

It was she who practically ruled India from 1611-27. The incident of her marshalling in person the royal forces against Mahabut Khan who had captived the Emperor; the great perils which she had to undergo; her tactics and her plot, which, finally, succeeded in making the Emperor free;—illustrate at once her daring, valour, and resourcefulness. All these, combined with her able statesmanship, in time of peace, go to make her career an eventful and interesting episode.

IX. Sahajo Bāī and Dayā Bāī.

"Two of the women disciples of Charan Dās (1703-1782), whose teachings have close similarity with those of Kabir, were poetesses. They were Sahajo Bāī and Dayā Bāī. Their verses are of considerable merit and full of devotion. The Dayā Bodh of Dayā Bāī was composed in 1751."[2]

X. Ahalyā Bāī.

Vincent Smith in his "Oxford History of India" has the following observation:

"Although it is impossible in this work to treat in detail the history of the various Maharatta States I cannot refrain from commemorating the virtues of a lady who died in 1795, after she had directed with success for thirty years the affairs of the Holkar dynasty and the administration of the Indore State. In 1765 Ahalyā Bāī, widow of Malhār Holkar and then in the thirtieth year of her age, was the sole representative of her late husband's dynasty. With the consent of the subordinate chiefs and the loyal co-operation of Tukaji Holkar, the Commander-in-chief, who was not related to the reigning family, she ruled the state until her death in such a manner that she gained for herself unbounded veneration and for her subjects the blessings of righteous government." [1]

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 354-55.

[2] Keay in his "Hindi Literature," p. 68.

Then Dr. Vincent Smith goes on to quote certain extracts from the account which Sir John Malcolm has left about her in his " A Memoir of Central India " : [2]

> " The success of Ahalyā Bāī in the internal administration of her dominions was altogether wonderful.. ....The undisturbed internal tranquillity of the country was even more remarkable than its exemption from foreign attack............Indore, which she had raised from a village to a wealthy city, was always regarded by her with particular consideration............The fond object of her life was to promote the prosperity of all around her............She has become, by general suffrage, the model of good government in Malwa.......... . Her munificence was not limited to her own territories............The beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the fish of the river shared in her compassion............She could read and understand the Puranas, or sacred books, which were her favourite study............The facts that have been stated of Ahalyā Bāī rest on grounds that admit of no scepticism. It is, however, an extraordinary picture—a female without vanity, a bigot without intolerance...........her name is sainted."

XI.

Bhupal has a long, glorious roll of able women administrators. In Bengal, the memory of Rānī Bhawānī, associated, as it is, with numerous charitable institutions, is held in reverence all over the province. In this connection, the following observation in John Stuart Mill's "Subjection of Women," may prove interesting :

> " If a Hindoo principality is strongly, vigilantly, and economically governed ; if order is preserved without oppression ; if cultivation is extending and the people prosperous, in three cases out of four that principality is under a woman's rule. This fact, to me an entirely unexpected one, I have collected from a long official knowledge of Hindoo governments."

SATYENDRA NARAYAN GUHA

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[1] " Oxford History of India," pp. 576-77.

[2] " A Memoir of Central India," Vol. I, pp. 157-95.

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION

It is evident that, under conditions obtaining at present, industrial co-operation seems unattainable, and pessimistic people are not wanting to suggest that the very idea itself is nothing short of an Utopian dream. For such a condition of affairs, the whole blame should be laid indeed at the door of the recent Great War. Its consequences were far-reaching. Its effects are even felt to-day. There have been a complete dislocation in the world conditions of trade, sudden and rapid fluctuations in the rates of foreign exchanges, and acute unemployment unparalleled in the history of the world. Nor is the fact of the increasing power of labour in any way to be left out of account. Thus we are confronted to-day with an obviously complicated issue unprecedented in the industrial annals. Surely it is a serious situation that demands proper and efficacious rectification.

It is a matter of enormous importance to note, however, that there has been of late a general awakening among the labouring classes, as it were, from their long stupor. These working people have begun to think and rightly so, that they are as much the citizens of the land as their employers. They feel sometimes rather keenly that they are being ill-treated, and are being denied all the privileges and rights accorded to the ordinary citizen of any democratic state. They are ready—and most of them have done so—to rally round the banner of any selfless leader who would come forward to espouse their cause. The right of 'vote'—one significant feature of modern democracy—that has been extended to them, they exercise in a purely political spirit. That is, whenever elections take place, they exercise their franchise in favour of their leaders and sympathisers. And thus we have now to all intents and purposes, a separate labour party distinctly represented, for example, in the British Parliament.

Despite this party and its magnifying influence, nothing substantial has been effected by way of minimising—if not to wholly put down—conflicts between labour and capital. It can be said without any fear of contradiction that until yesterday the capitalists were enjoying the sole monopoly of profits accrued from industries at the expense of the wage earners. This could no more be. The days of capitalism are practically drawing to a close. This does not imply that we are to be in the sunshine of labour predominance. To attain harmony and eliminate strife in the industrial world neither group should be dominating or domineering. But both should be comrades-in-arms, and should feel not as masters and servants but as brothers. They should often meet together, and have a frank and fair discussion of all things connected with their business. These frequent intercourses of the employees with the employers would result in generating mutual trust and mutual understanding. And this should be suffered to grow in volume and extent. If once the management secure the confidence of the employees, and endeavour to maintain the same at all costs, it is certainly adding to the efficiency of the industry. If this were to be a realised factor, the capitalist should try, first of all, to abide by the principle contained in that felicitous statement, "let employers lead, not drive."

Again, for industrial enterprises to thrive and flourish, the employees should behave not as mere wage-earners but willing workers and co-partners in industry. To get the labourers love the work in which they are engaged is by no means an easy task. Under certain conditions, of course, the labourer could not but take genuine interest in the work To mention only a few. First there should be a wage which would not make the working man feel the pinch of want in respect of food, clothes and lodging. Provided he leads a contented life, he will work in a joyous spirit. This wage should be fixed always with an eye to the cos of living, and hence the rise in prices of food-stuffs. Next there should be imparted to him education that would enable him to understand the import and the economics of business, the significance of sanitary principles, and the value of leisure and rest. Blissfully ignorant of these, the labourer feels himself much handicapped, and it is no wonder that he evinces a spirit of aversion and prejudice towards work. To dispel this his darkness we require the powerful light of education.

Granting that the wage-earners look upon work of any sort in a spirit of worship, then, too, there are intricate problems that beset the path of free and luxuriant growth of industrial co-operation. They are indeed obvious and only need a passing reference here. The first glaring defect of the modern system is the absence of regular employment. By this we mean that the labourers are recruited at particular seasons of the year, and whenever a business grows dull, or when the exchange rates affect the healthy norm of trade and commerce, these men are thrown out of employment. This haphazard manner of indiscriminate recruiting and dispensing with services is highly inimical to the consolidation of that solid spirit of co-operation.

Another perhaps insuperable difficulty that embarrasses the modern industrialist is the unemployment question. This, especially after the Great War, has assumed dimensions of enormous magnitude. The number of people under this category is daily on the increase. Insurance against unemployment has been suggested as a remedial measure. But this would prove only a palliative, and not a radical cure for the disease. To seek an effective demulcent is to reconsider the whole wage question in a new light and in a new view altogether.

A third impediment in the way of industrial peace is the reckless and cut-throat competition that has come to stay as a permanent factor in all the industrial operations, and that is again responsible for the growth of the class now familiar as the capitalists. So long as the head of that monster competition is seen in the industrial sky, we could not indulge in vain hopes and aspirations of a new dawn. The dawn which we confidently look forward to is co-operation between capital and labour. As a matter of fact, that day seems to be yet distant as competition holds unquestioned sway.

Among other hindrances that deserve mentioning, lack of a sound system of education congenial to their tastes and feeling, occupies the first place. The educational light should shed its resplendent rays on both the worker and the capitalist. We lay much stress on this point, for the administering of this tonic would tend to cure the anæmia of conflicts in the industrial world. By proper educational training, both the employer and the employee would become conscious of civic duties and responsibilities. In other words the citizenly motive that is lamentably lacking in them, would be nurtured to a considerable extent. This means that the higher and nobler ideals of sincerity of work and honesty of purpose would be enkindled in their minds. Any industry that is propelled by men fired by such laudable motives, is sure to flourish. By education again much of the bitter class feeling and class hatred would be avoided. Mutual help and mutual trust would colour their vision and broaden their outlook. That is, both the classes,—the management as well as the employed—would put their heads together in discussing the vital principles affecting the growth and progress of any industry whatsoever. It has been well said by Mr. J. S. Mill: " it is a great discouragement to an individual and a still greater one to a class to be left out of the constitution: to be reduced to plead from outside the door to the arbiters of their destiny, not taken into consultation within."

Again a sense of fellowship and brotherhood would go a long way in promoting harmony and enthroning the spirit of good will and common action which is a crying necessity of the day. In this connection we are glad to note that Great Britain has roused itself from its long slumber. We are told by the London correspondent of the *Madras Mail* in his special cable published in the issue of 1st September, 1922, that a manifesto entitled "the need for good-will" has been issued by the Industrial League Council, headed by Mr. Lloyd George. Once animated by such spirit, and actuated by such motives, the long cherished industrial co-operation is assured. For then the skill and the application with which the labourers take to the work are beyond comparison. All matters affecting the working conditions can amicably be settled, and to the best satisfaction of both parties. No more Arbitration or Conciliation Boards are necessary.

Further, collective action would, in the long run, lead to increased output in production. The several complicated ills connected with the insoluble and thorny problem of the foreign exchanges would be mitigated considerably, if we produce more and more, and flood the markets with the same. The spirit of initiative is indispensable to the business man. He should have no occasion to despair of, for it scorches, if not kills, the spirit of initiative and enthusiasm, so imperative for business of all kinds. Surely, the principle of co-operation eliminates such kindred evils. It does not rest contented with this. It is responsible for better craftsmanship, for increasing the skill in the labourer by constant recourse to originality, for firing his stimulus to work, and for producing good things and more things. In a word, it is a soveriegn remedy to eradicate all conflicts and ills associated with industry and capital. If we try and succeed in enthroning the king of co-operation in the industrial kingdom, it would not be long when we would be blessed with an era of peace and plenty.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

MITES FROM MANY

Youth and Age.

Age descends, my youth now dies,
Be't a humble sacrifice,
Be't a hymn of ardent praise
Himward—the Sun whose countless rays
Endless words with life illume,
Life and Light all forms assume!
I'm not Youth nor am I age
'Tis but turning Life-Book's page.
Let no stain the page besmear
May He shelve it spotless, clear!

Flesh and Soul.

Love, they say, is of the flesh
    Love is not of soul.
Must Love th' soul in flesh enmesh,
    Part destroying whole?
Tell me, Love, in truth, what ought
    I of these to think;
Art thou scent of Godward thought
    Or earth-dung's rott'n stink?
Love, thou art of life the leav'n,
    Dost thou requir' it—
Earth he raised the starry heav'n,
    Flesh be hid in spirit?

Life and Love.

A straw I am afloat, Love-Queen,
Upon thy plumbless stream of will;
The sky is dark; the land unseen,
And formless voices shout " Kill! Kill! "
O fain would I now backward turn
And rest in fancied childhood still.
To cinders let youth passions burn,
I mount in hope high manhood hill.
Alas! what's been can ne'ermore be,
This stream knows neither ebb nor flow
But runs and runs to nameless sea,
Unmindful of life's joy or woe.
Fulfil, O Love, thy threat to kill
And bid this anguished heart be still.
In love withdraw this love to live
And full release " may be's " give.
" Now say from whom this life to thee,
Is not this life love-gift from me?
Fill thy life with causeless love;
See fuller life yours from above.
My love thy love has not provok'd
Fool, when have I life-gift revoked?
The musk-deer roves the forest thro'
For scent that's he, devoid of clue.
O cast of fear the stream's but you."

Giver and Gift.

My fear is ceaseless lest I lose
    Bejewel'd aim of life.
A shade of thought beknown of yore
    Is birth-throes of a strife—
A strife 'twixt what is and what'd be—
    A strife that rends in twain
The I that am and that to be
    I try, perchance, in vain.
A voice comes stealing like a shiver
    —"Thou valuest gifts and not the Giver."

The Sick made Whole.

Bepalsied sick, supine on bed—
    This fulsome, darksome, noisome earth—
With toxic drugs by Error fed,
    Till now—till now from earthly birth,
Unask'd, unnoticed, comes the Leech,
    The sickman neither sleeps nor wakes,
Bereft alike of stir and speech
    By sign nor word he welcome makes.
By wish alone the Leech makes clean
    A tiny speck in sickman's heart
And turneth quick the gloom to sheen
    By silent Lover's mystic art.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

EXMOUTH IN OCTOBER

The year is dying—the winds are sighing
A doleful dirge o'er land and sea.
The leaves are falling—their farewells calling
To naked branches of mother-tree.

The year is dying—the gulls are flying
Inland, from buffet of icy blast—
Grey seas are churning—restlessly turning—
In grey skies storm-clouds gather fast.

The year is dying—nature is crying
"Spring, summer, autumn, all have passed."
Earth is preparing—its death-sleep daring—
Winter's cold grip hath come at last.

The year is dying—but spring is lying
Hid 'neath mantle of kindly snow.
Sweet Hope comes roaming—in Winter's gloaming—
Whispers of Life coming sure and slow.

A. Brühl

THOMAS BIRD MOSHER
(1852-1923)

Thomas Bird Mosher, for nearly half a century publisher of rare editions of books in *belles lettres* and dean of the world's book lovers, died on the 31st August, 1923.

Beginning life as a book-keeper Mr. Mosher lived to establish a business which has no equal. He was a writer of fine discernment, a critic and an authority in the branch of literature to which he devoted his life.

Mr. Mosher occupied a unique position, in that he was so busy supplying the people of distant lands and places with books that his townspeople were scarcely familiar with him. Beloved by the comparatively few who were privileged to know him in the City of Portland, Maine, U. S. A., where he practically spent his life, his name is a household word in the cities and towns of the West and South, in which there is apparently a greater demand for books of the quality published by Mr. Mosher than in Portland. It might even be said in this connection that the distinguished bookman was better known in Australia and in India than he was to the people of Exchange Street, where in 1871 he entered the publishing business as a clerk in the store above which his office was afterwards located.

It was here, however, that Mr. Mosher was able to throw himself into the work which made life for him "the sunlit road," which he declared he had found it. Here he lived surrounded by his books, pictures and bric-a-brac, receiving his patrons and friends from the literary centres of the world, attending to his immense correspondence and to a still greater extent finding companionship with the great men of letters of the past. Broadminded and with a literary outlook of the widest, he was also ready to welcome the good work of men of to-day, as well as to help to preserve and to send down the productions of the great authors and scholars of the past. His own scholarship was exact and comprehensive along special lines and it would be hard to set any bounds to his field of literary observation and research.

Mr. Mosher was born in Biddeford, September 11, 1852, the son of Benjamin and Mary Elizabeth (Merrill). He was educated in the public schools of Biddeford and Boston and in 1906 Bowdoin College conferred the honorary degree of A. M. upon him. He married Anna M. Littlefield of Saco, July 2, 1892. He is survived by his wife and two sons, Harrison Hume and Thomas Bird Jr. and by one sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Cowan of Biddeford.

He began publishing choice and limited editions of books in *belles lettres* in October, 1891. His work of editing and publishing the Bibelot was begun in January, 1895; he thus completed a reprint of poetry and prose, largely from scarce editions and sources not usually known, in twenty-one volumes with index, in 1915. He edited and published an American edition of The Germ, 1898; Swinburne's Poems and Ballads, 1899; Rosetti's Poetical Works, 1902. The first absolute facsimile reprint of Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyam of 1859 was produced by Mr. Mosher in 1902. He also edited and compiled a bibliography in Old World editions of Fitzgerald's entire texts of Omar.

It is of interest to know that the first time Mr. Mosher ever heard a word about the Rubaiyat was in 1879 and the man who quoted " the moving finger writes " was a doctor of medicine, F. H. Gerrish, of Portland who was very well known in the medical profession. It was in a little lecture room in Congress Street on the subject of hygiene that the latter quoted those four lines, and from that time to the last day of Mr. Mosher's life, as it were, Omar was with him. " I think I need Omar every hour," he was fond of saying.

At that time Mr. Mosher's day had not dawned. He was a hard working bookkeeper who was carrying burdens and had not seen his way to publish the "Mosher books," or indeed any books except the ordinary folios used in his professional career. From 1882 to 1890 he was one of the partners of the firm which was known as McLellan, Mosher and Co. Leaving Portland in 1879, he returned to Maine and went into business with the late Reuel T. McLellan in 1882.

He came in touch with the particular interest which proved to be the ruling hobby of his life through wanting to publish things according to his idea of how they should be published He intuitively felt that such work would have place. Then, too, expression was doubtlessly a motive,—the impulse which shows itself in the desire for good workmanship. These combined with perseverance, the faculty which gives one the power to accomplish a piece of work without allowing one's self to be turned aside from his purpose, either by the initial difficulties involved or by the obstacles that multiply as one progresses with his task, led to the goal.

Mr. Mosher's first book was Modern Love by George Meredith. It faithfully reproduced the text of 1862 and was later revised with other poems by Meredith in his Old World Series. The closing words of that poem better than anything else, tell what Mr. Mosher tried to do as a publisher, as he once said,—"To throw that faint, thin line upon the shore." He considered the greatest achievement of his career to be, not his Bibelot, by which he was best known, but the reproduction of Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass, in the author's memorial year. Mr. Mosher not only had the extremely great pleasure of publishing this book, but he had an equal amount of gratification of seeing the edition sold out without a word of advertising, although this interest was in no sense from the commercial standpoint. It was simply a case of "throwing out that faint, thin line upon the shore." His last published work was Odes, Sonnets and Lyrics of John Keats.

Mr. Mosher once made the statement that he rarely ever read the newspapers for the reason that he could not indulge in the habit without enfeebling his taste for literature, although he admitted that his early dreams were of a newspaper.

He claimed it was his father who gave him his greatest education when he allowed him to go to sea for five years. He often declared that he was grateful to his father for saving him from a college education. He attributed his love of reading to the fact that having little school training, he needed and loved literature.

Mr. Mosher published nearly 500 titles reproducing upon the finest papers, by means of the most beautiful fonts of type and in the most artistic bindings, some of the most exquisite editions of literary works. Thus the best traditions of English literature have been preserved, and through "the faint, thin line" which the Portland publisher eminently succeeded in throwing, these traditions should and undoubtedly will pass into the possession of coming generations whose pleasure it will be to cherish them and whose duty it will be to perpetuate them. Much also might be said of Mr. Mosher's cultured home life, and of the gaiety, optimism and irony, combined in his delightful personality. He lived profoundly, which indeed was the secret of his producing greatly. But it is as a publisher of unique volumes, as an editor and poet that he will be remembered, and this will be as he wished, if one may judge from the preface of one of his own works in which he wrote in part as follows :

"To you who have bought and loved my books and know what they have signified during the past years I need give no stronger assurance as to the tenor of my way than is set forth in these solemn affirmations. To believe that literature is the lasting expression in words of the meaning of life, has been and will ever remain an ideal as long as I am permitted to publish at all.

" And when the curtain comes down for the last time, I want not a few half-wearied spectators and a fast emptying house, but a still appreciable audience.

> " I know the night is near at hand,
> The mist lies on the hill and bay,
> The autumn leaves are drifting by,
> But I have had the day."

Wilbur Needham has made the following fine attempt at appreciation of the rare spirit which pervaded all that Mosher did :

"He has done what every true booklover who is also a litterateur would like to do. He has done it so well that, like the work of the old masters, it is really not worth doing again. I think that the books of Thomas Bird Mosher,—books he never wrote but which are his because he has put upon them the imprint of his taste in bookcraft and his selective genius in literary matters,—are meant for immortality. Some one is bound, after he has finished his work here, to take it up and spread broadcast the little volumes he has produced in small quantities for those who care. That will not matter, however, and it will come about naturally, easily.

For those who do not know Thomas Bird Mosher, I quote a few titles in the list of books which has been steadily growing since 1891 ; Odes, Sonnets and Lyrics of John Keats, the Daniel Press edition ; The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft by George Gissing ; Dreamthrop by Alexander Smith. Some were limited editions, or did not get a reprinting for one reason or another, and these are now out of print and very scarce. Others that I do not mention may be quite as unobtainable. The rest are reprinted whenever exhausted, in the same form usually as the original. There are more than three hundred titles in the list; and besides this Mr. Mosher has a set of books which he calls The Bibelot, a twenty volume collection of prose and poetry ranging from Francois Villon to Stephen Mallarme, and from William Blake to Maurice Hewlett. His separate volumes are issued in series with charming names: The Brocade, the Old World, and the Venetian. One finds in many the name of Fiona Macleod; haunting titles like From the Hills of Dream and The Four White Swans.

Mr. Mosher, indeed, was among the first, if not the first, to discover William Sharp's delicate things, and it was he who was practically responsible for the pen name that Sharp assumed for part of his work, Fiona Macleod.

The format of every book is exactly in the spirit of the author—and in the Mosher spirit, too. Most of them, not to speak of leather bindings for those who do not fear the rot of years, are in old-style boards and in a cream cover of vellum, stamped in brown, and inclosed in a slip case to preserve from dust.

'The literary journals,' says Mr. Mosher, 'are so full of details about works that sell by the carload that any attempts of mine would be like the needle in the haymow—"lost to sight" even if to memory dear! I shall hope to go on with my work, small as it is, however, until to quote from another—"the end is ended—the infinite begun".'

There has been nothing quite like Thomas Bird Mosher before this day—he is not, he asserts, a 'second William Morris'—and there will be, we suspect, nothing like him after this day is gone, and he with it."

The latest books which Mosher lived to place in the hands of his readers were in his best style. One of these is "a Freeman's Worship" with special preface by Bertrand Russell, the other is "a Children's Crusade" translated from the French of Marcel Schwob in the same format as originated by him.

We are delighted to find that although no more new books will be published in these series, the Mosher books will be reprinted as called for. Truly may the words of William Watson be applied to Mosher:

In light, in night, in twilight,
  I sought for very Thee:
But my light, was it Thy light?
  I sought, and nought could see.

I strove by inward eyesight
  To gaze on things to be:
But my sight, was it Thy sight?
  I gazed, and nought could see.

Along Thy starlit highway
  Thou lead'st me, bound or free!
If my way, then, be Thy way,
  O whither lead'st Thou me?

ALPHAMU

SELF-SUPPORTING EDUCATION

Educationists from as far back as we have any record of them and their doings and aspirations, have been hoping to solve the problem of making children earn whilst learning, but they have not been able yet to give us a plan suitable for general adoption; practical people, therefore, are apt to wonder at the credulity of those who still hope for success in that direction, and to look upon advocates of self-supporting education as Utopians who must not be allowed to waste busy people's time with their discredited theories.

The question, however, is not one to dogmatise upon, for the simple reason that agricultural and industrial progress are constantly and rapidly increasing the productive power of labour, and moreover, giving us ever-increasing means of using unskilled labour, so that, though that great educational ideal has not been attained yet, we are advancing quite rapidly towards conditions that will ultimately render its attainment possible. Therefore, now that we are so entirely dissatisfied with our educational system, we should at least take the trouble to understand why the question of self-supporting education is coming up again, and with such persistence, why India's most prominent educationist is encouraging its study in India's premier university, and why eminent economists in all parts of the world are urging Indian patriots to try this way of solving their country's greatest problems.

Briefly, the modern advocates of the plan, convinced of the impossibility of utilising the labour of children, by the failure of all past attempts to do it, advocate quite another thing. Their idea is organisations in which there will be adults helped by children. All who know anything about modern methods know that, in a good agricultural or industrial organisation, with labour scientifically subdivided, a very large proportion of children can be very usefully employed as helpers to adult workers. The questions, however, with this new plan, are the following: first, how we are going to have educational organisations with a sufficient number of adults; secondly, how we should dispose of the produce in such a way as to make a large establishment of adults a source of income and not of loss; and thirdly, how we should capitalise such organisations.

Though on the surface those questions look very forbidding, there appear to be satisfactory answers to them. As to the first, modern methods have so simplified labour that boys trained to industrial work from the day they joined school would, in a great many cases, be as good as adults by when they were about fifteen. Such organisations, therefore, would not need more than about one adult to ten of their young helpers. This, as the school boys—and girls—would be half their time in class, would give us one adult to five of them on the work. With one or two senior boys or girls, the inexperienced children would then be employed under right conditions to make their labour useful and to train them well. The answer to the question of disposal of produce is that educational organisations of this kind would, for very reason, produce things not for sale mainly, but principally for the boys and girls to take to their own homes; though of course they would sell some produce to have the money to pay the adult workers a portion of their salary in cash. The answer to the third question, that of capitalisation, is that, as these organisations would produce things that every family uses and consumes the largest quantities of, it would be very easy for them to pay good interest in kind to those who subscribed the money, and so make it quite a good investment.

I shall not go into details here in connection with these matters, but shall only mention that this question has been the main study of Calcutta University Poverty Problem Study for the last six years, and of the Educational Colonies Association[1] in England for the last twelve years. Both organisations have been issuing literature on the subject which has been distributed in every part of the world, raising fresh hopes everywhere that we may be on the eve of solving the great problem of practical education. I must refer to readers to the publications of those two propagandist organisations for details.

What I shall consider now specially is how we are endeavouring in Calcutta to give the practical examples which are needed, more than our books and pamphlets, to convince people.

The plan as conceived by the modern advocates of self-supporting education, would undoubtedly be workable when once it was started, but there are immense difficulties about the start.

With the children all untrained it is not workable at all; then, as soon as we had some trained, they would be tempted to leave and take more attractive employment. It may be said that this has hitherto been the great stumbling-block to self-supporting education.

Once the organisation was fairly started on a large enough scale, the supply of well-trained youths would be ample so this hitherto fatal difficulty would no longer bar the way. At the same time they would earn so much *in kind*, that there would be no hurry at all for them to leave the school organisation, however poor their parents might be. Everything, however, is difficult at the start.

Doing the best we can in the conditions that confront us, we are trying, in Maharajah Kasimbazar's Polytechnic Institute, to give facilities for boys to work in established industries. In this we are being helped by some Calcutta industrialists who have become enthusiasts for the plan. Mr. Ram Chandra

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[1] Hon. Secy. J. B. Pennington, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.)
C/o East India Assn. 3, Victoria St., London, S. W.

Jain, a patriotic industrialist who believes that self-supporting education may do India more good than anything else, is establishing industries in our school compound for the boys to work in. Mr. C. C. Sanyal who believes that this plan will furnish a solution for the problem of the *Bhadralogue,* is taking some of them to work, under suitable conditions, in the mechanical department of his rice-mill near the school. Mr. A. W. Alexander, the Managing Director of W. E Alexander & Co. is offering us facilities for a branch in the country, for boys to work in both at agriculture and industries.

We hold that the most hopeful plan for general adoption is to have country branches of town schools where boys will go daily, or in rotation certain days of the week, bringing home garden produce, and to some extent farm produce, with them. Owing to the very large intermediate profits that there is on such articles, the boys should easily be able to earn the expenses connected with their trip to the country branch, by the value of the produce they would bring home. On account of these big intermediate profits, we regard the latter plan as the suitable one for general adaptation at the start.

Every town school, we hold, should have such a country branch, which would be of immense benefit for the boys' health, and enable them to be brought up to be practical, doing thus immense good at once, and paving the way to the establishment of self-supporting education on modern lines, which we believe to be economically possible now if only it is properly started, and will be of immense importance to India, as indeed to all countries.

J. W. PETAVEL

SOME BIRD PETS OF BENGAL

THE DHAYAL

(*Copsychus Saularis.*)

If there is a bird, very familiar in an Indian village, and has a voice exquisitely sweet, it is the *Dhayal.* The black and white markings of its body correspond so nearly to those of the Magpie, that it is known as the Magpie-Robin. The bird resembles the English Robin in many of its habits. Constantly jerking up its tail, it loves, like the Robin to frequent places close to human habitation. Bold and vivacious, it steps into our verandahs, and nests in the holes and crannies of human dwellings. As a songster it has no rival in the plains of India, the *Shama* being a bird of the forest depths. Its notes are clear and varied. They greet our ears the very first thing in the morning, and when all nature is silent in the evening, their cheerful music rings out a farewell to the departing day.

The *Dhayal* is indeed a superb singer. With its presence in the gardens, orchards, barn-sides, and the backyards of houses, it is one of the attractions of our rural surroundings. The semi-domestic nature of the bird has left it in comparative liberty and, though it is often caged, people have not the same rage for it as they have for the more unfamiliar *Shama.* Legge says that, like the latter, the *Dhayal* is a mimic; it can roll its tongue in imitation of other birds. Layard also records that its power of mimicry manifests itself in its wild life as well. This, if true, is singular, as it is unlike other birds that have similar habits. Even the parrots do not show this trait while at large. The *Dhayals* in my own aviary, however, do not "degrade" their voice, as has been observed also by Gould, "by apish tricks of imitation." The *Dhayal's* pugnacious instinct makes it a special favourite with the rich in Nepal where it is kept like gamecocks for fighting.

Distribution.

It is one of the most widely distributed birds in India and is found everywhere except in the extreme North-west beyond the Punjab. In Rajputana and westwards, the desert tracts are too arid for its habitation. It is, however, found in Kathiawar, Sind, and in around Karachi whence it departs in April with the advent of summer. Eastwards it is abundant and is an inevitable feature of bird life everywhere, both in the Sub-Himalayan regions from Mussorie eastwards and the hills and plains of Aryavarta. In Bengal, no place is unrepresented up to the very base of the Himalayas, where it is not seen higher up than the Terais. Thence its range extends up to Burma. Though not so abundant in the Deccan, it is pretty numerous along the hills in the West, and in the lowlands of the Madras Presidency in the east. It is distributed throughout the whole island of Ceylon.

Field Notes.

The characteristic difference between the *Shama* and the *Dhayal* is that while the former confines itself solely to the most secluded depths of forests, the latter, though not unknown in the solitude of woods, seldom strays very far from the vicinity of man. Its graceful form is always in evidence around us. Early at dawn, before other members of the fledged tribes are astir, it pours forth its music in a continuous stream from the foliage. At noon it is generally busy, silently foraging for food in the chequered shade of gardens and orchards. While thus engaged, the approach of man does not seem to ruffle its composure, and except bestowing a half-amusing quizzical look, it cares no more for your presence than for that of any other living thing. At the same time, it will not allow you to take any undue liberty with it. If it notices that you are trying to come very near, it will fly away a few yards, and, perching on the branch of a tree, regard your discomfiture with a sublime complacency or defy you by a musical rebuke for thoughtlessly disturbing it at its midday meal. In the evening when the day's labour is over, it resumes its rapturous strain of music until late at dusk.

This habit of keeping early and late hours is true also of the more retired *Shama.* In fact, we observe many traits common to both these birds. The *Dhayal* is as voracious an insect-feeder as the *Shama.* It seeks its prey near the ground and generally selects the low branches of trees for perching, though it is not uncommon to find it seated on the top of some large tree or other elevated spots. In pugnacity, it is almost a cousin-german to the *Shama.* Like all pugnacious birds, the *Dhayal* is unsociable to a degree, staying alone throughout the greater part of the year, and only occasionally in the company of its mate.

Sometimes one may notice a deviation from this habit of exclusiveness on the part of the *Dhayal.* But this is seasonal only. Prompted by a freshly roused combative instinct, the bird suddenly develops a gregarious impulse during the mating period. It is not unusual then to observe a number of *Dhayals* congregating in an open space in a garden or a grove to fight out duels like the knights of mediæval Europe. As each bird comes out the winner, its success is received with such an uproar of applause that the uninitiated may easily mistake it for some disaster in the avine world. Amidst such din and commotion, each competitor engages in combat till one is left the sole champion of the field. Then, mighty pleased with themselves and their performances, the birds retire to their roosts, chattering the while and discussing perhaps the merits of different competitors. The *Dhayal's* bullying tendency very often betrays it into bondage. Bird-catchers take advantage of this propensity and employ tame birds to entrap it. Among the various devices which are resorted to, one is to bring a caged *Dhayal* to the place where wild ones abound. Small-sticks smeared with bird-lime are attached to the cage. As soon as the captive bird begins to sing, the wild *Dhayals* while coming down to challenge the newcomer, perch upon the sticks and get fastened to the bird-lime. Sometimes the tame bird is taken out of the cage and tied to a long piece of string. While combating its wild antagonist, it holds the latter in such a firm grip with its beak and claw that the catcher has no difficulty in securing the bird.

The *Dhayal* is full of activity. Watch it feeding on the ground in the alleys and be-lanes of our countryside, you cannot fail to notice its quick and animated movements. With its wing half open or almost drooping, it hops about in search of its prey, and at each hop, stops with a jerk of its tail instantly spread out and pointed to the sky. If cattle pass by at the moment, it flies up to a low twig and keeps a sharp eye on any insect or grub that may chance to be brought to light. The moment it is noticed, it comes down to snatch it up and after beating it to death, returns with it to its former perch. Always in motion, it raises and depresses its body accompanied by a flirtation of its tail. This tail-play is most in evidence during the mating season and specially at the time when a number of *Dhayals* are engaged in fighting out their duels. The display consists in expanding the tail like a fan to show the white outer feathers, and continually jerking it up and down. Although far from shy, the bird likes the security of a thicket and revels in the shade. While warily working its way along the hedge, it betrays its presence by uttering its shrill note every now and then. It seldom sings in full view of man whose sudden intrusion would check its flow of vocal music; and when thus interrupted, it assumes a still attitude, fixing its cold look upon him. If you advance nearer, it will fly up to a higher perch or a more distant twig. When flushed, it is seen to fly in the cover of the thicket directly from its perch to a more remote hiding place. The hen bird is not slow to follow her mate's example but if she flies, she keeps aloof from her lord and loses herself amidst dense cover. While at ordinary times the Dhayal seldom indulges in protracted flights, it has been observed to develop a tendency for sustained aerial gyrations in the mating season. The female *Dhayal* is far less obtrusive than the male, and as she has a less striking appearance, she easily eludes detection. In conformity with the etiquette of pugnacious birds, she knows what distance to keep between herself and her lord. This explains why the males appear singly so often, but if you take a little pains to watch carefully you are likely to detect its retiring partner not very far off. The *Dhayal* is conscious of its right to its territory and tenaciously keeps to its hunting ground. It is not timid. Fond of insects as it is, it may be easily encouraged to closer familiarity with man, if we care to put now and then a few grubs or disabled worms in its way or fix up, in some safe place close to our habitation, little boxes or even earthen pots which will be readily acceptable to the bird as its nesting site. It is a beneficial bird as far as its insect-feeding habit goes; and so, the more it is left to its liberty and allowed to multiply, the better.

The *Dhayal* does not appear to sing at the same pitch all the year round. It has been observed to be in full choral activity chiefly during the mating period, *viz.*, in April and May. The bird seems at that time to be possessed with a musical mania, warbling forth its amorous notes, which by reason of their volume, depth, variety, and sweetness sound perfect to the human ear. From August, its song begins to lose much of its sweetness until, in mid-winter, it ceases to fascinate us as before. And lo! when February comes, its voice begins again to get into form and emerges once more into full-throated melody towards the close of March.

Nests and Eggs.

The *Dhayal* takes to house-keeping at this period and for nearly four months it is busy rearing up its family. The bird seems to have a remarkably monogamous instinct. Observations of its habits in the aviary substantiate the fact that a cock-bird which has lost its hen refuses to chum up with any other female, and feels so much enraged as to kill all subsequent wives submitted for his approval. The *Dhayal* breeds throughout the plains of India; but many birds resort to the *Dhoons* and *Terais* of the Himalayas during the nesting season. Holes in trees, walls, banks, corners of the under-roof or the eaves of a verandah are the places generally selected for nesting. The nest is invariably placed in a secure and sheltered position and is made up of roots, grass, fibres, feathers—in fact anything that is to hand is utilized for the purpose. In the hills, the nest is a shallow, loosely-built cup of moss, small twigs and dry leaves. The *Dhayal* develops a great fondness for particular places. However far it may stray from its abode in other seasons, it will come back year after year to the same spot as soon as the nesting season arrives, and build its nest in exactly the same place. Five is the usual complement of eggs, which are oval, neither broad nor very narrow, somewhat elongated, with a moderately glossy surface. The ground colour is sometimes greenish or greenish white, and sometimes greenish blue with rusty blotches.

Cage Life.

In the cage, the *Dhayal* is no less attractive than the *Shama*. It becomes tame and docile, and appears very happy seeming to realise that "iron bars do not a prison make," and sings away its time as sweetly as when at liberty. Young hand-reared birds grow up very hardy and make very nice pets, but adult birds seem to feel their loss of liberty very keenly just after capture. The provision of a bath in the cage delights it immensely, for it enjoys a dip in water as much as the *Shama*. Its treatment in captivity is almost similar to that of the *Shama*. The food prepared for the one is well suited to the other only a little more insect-food is necessary in order to keep it in health. This discourages many people from caging it. Apart from this question of its insect-food, there are good grounds for leaving it at liberty. The bird is so much attached to the vicinities of human habitation that it seems not to be a gain to deprive it of its freedom. The growth of civilization with the concomitants of the modern town-planning is working such a havoc on bird life that even many of the commonest birds have chosen to leave our company for ever. It is not advisable, therefore, to make life unbearable even for those few that still adhere to us. In Bengal such a large number of nestlings of this bird is caught during the nesting season that the law meant to prevent it by declaring the season a closed period for bird-catchers utterly fails in its object. One effect of this indiscriminate catching is that in Calcutta what was a familiar garden bird a few years back is now a *rara avis.*

It is not very difficult to get the *Dhayal* to breed in captivity. Any small wooden box comes handy to it for nesting. It is known to have done so successfully in England. In a few instances, however, the nestlings were killed by the cock-bird, which had to be separated from the hen soon after she had laid eggs. When it is housed in an aviary with other birds, care should be taken to eliminate the smaller and weaker birds, as the latter are likely to be worried by the bad-tempered *Dhayal.*

Coloration.

The bird is very well-proportioned, has a graceful form, and looks very bold on account of its tail which is almost always carried erect. The upper part of its body is black with a blue metallic gloss, the white wing-coverts forming a broad band. The under-surface is white from the chest downwards. The two median pairs of tail-feathers are black, the others white; the fourth pair is either white with a small black tip, or white with a greater or less amount of black. The bill is black, iris hazel-brown, and the legs dark plumbeous.

In the female, the upper part of the body is uniformly dark-brown glossed with blue. In the wings and tail, the white is distributed as in the male. Chin, throat, breast, and sides of the neck are grey; forehead and cheeks mottled with white and grey; sides of the body, vent, under tail-coverts pale fulvescent, and middle of the abdomen whitish.

In the young, the upper plumage is dark brown streaked with rufous, the white in the wings being as that in the adult, the tail brown with similar white patches. Throat and breast greyish brown streaked with rufous. The rest of the lower body is white. The young assume adult plumage as soon as they are fully fledged.

The *Dhayal* is considerably smaller in size than the *Shama* being only about eight inches from the tip of its bill to the end of its tail. But if we leave the tail in both cases out of the account, the *Dhayal* becomes larger than the *Shama*, the reason being that the latter has a longer tail. The *Dhayal's* tail which is much shorter equals its wings in length.

SATYA CHURN LAW

ANCIENT INDIAN BALLAD POETRY

I said in my first lecture that the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā contains, besides the sacrificial hymns which form the nucleus of the collection, also some remnants of ancient poetry that was unconnected with religious rites. Among these are about twenty poems, which are legends, myths or stories in the form of dialogues and may be called *Saṃvāda* or *Ākhyāna*, or *Itihāsa hymns.*

These are poems consisting entirely of dialogues or conversations. The best known specimen of this kind of poetry is the Saṃvāda between *Purūravas and Urvaśī* (Rv. X, 95): Purūravas is a mortal, Urvaśī an Apsaras or nymph.

During four years the beautiful Apsaras lived on earth as the wife of Purūravas, until she became with child. Then she vanished 'like the first of the dawns.' Thereupon he went forth to seek her. At last he finds her, as she is playing on a lake with other water nymphs. This is about all that we can gather from the dark and often unintelligible verses, containing the conversation between the deserted Purūravas and the goddess who is amusing herself with her playmates in the pond. Fortunately this ancient myth of the love of a mortal king for a divine maiden is also preserved to us in other works of Indian literature, so that we are able at least to a certain extent, to reconstruct the story underlying the conversation between Purūravas and Urvaśī. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI, 6, 1) the story is told that Urvaśī, when she consented to become the wife of Purūravas, stipulated three conditions, one of them being that she must never see him naked. The Gandharvas, however, denizens of the same heavenly world to which the Apsarases belong, want Urvaśī to come back to heaven. Therefore, one night they rob the two little lambs which Urvaśī loves like children and which are tied to her bed. And as Urvaśī complains bitterly that she was being robbed as if there were no man there, Purūravas jumped up 'naked as he was,' for it seemed to him too long to put on a garment first, 'to pursue the thieves'. But at the same instant the Gandharvas caused a flash of lightning to appear so that of a sudden it was as bright as daylight, and Urvaśî perceived the king naked. Then she vanished, and when Purūravas came again, she was gone. Mad with grief, the king then wandered about the country, until one day he came to a pond in which nymphs in the shape of swans were swimming about. And now the conversation sets in that has been preserved in the Ṛg-veda, and is repeated in the Brāhmaṇa with some explanatory remarks added. But in vain are all the pleadings of Purūravas, that she might return to him again. Even when in despair he talks of self-destruction—he would throw himself from the rocks as a prey to the fierce wolves she has only the answer:

> "Die not Purūravas, do not throw yourself
> Down from the rock, a prey to the fierce wolves.
> There is, forsooth, no friendship with womenfolk
> For they have hearts like wild hyenas."

Whether and how Purūravas was united with his beloved is not quite clear either from the Ṛgveda Saṃvāda or from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. It seems that he was transformed into a Gandharva and attained heaven, where the happiness of reunion awaited him.

The story of Purūravas and Urvaśî has been retold in India over and over again. It is alluded to in the Kāṭhaka of the Black Yayurveda, it is found in the Harivaṃśa, in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and in the Kathāsaritsāgara and it forms the subject of one of Kālidāsa's immortal dramas. Ever so many attempts have been made by scholars to explain the verses of the Ṛgveda with the help of the later stories, but we are still far from understanding the Saṃvāda fully. This shows again, how far remote in time the Ṛg-veda is from all the later literature. But another cause of not understanding the poem fully is its fragmentary character. And this is the case with the Saṃvāda hymns.

Take one other famous dialogue of the Ṛg-veda, that between *Yama and Yāmî* (Rv. X, 10). The story underlying this conversation is an old myth of the origin of the human race from a first pair of twins. Yāmî tries to tempt her brother Yama to incest, in order that the human race may not die out. In passionate words glowing with love the sister invites her brother's embrace. In gentle, deliberate speech, pointing to the eternal laws of the gods which forbid the union of blood-relations, Yama repulses her :

> "Not such a friendship does thy friend desire,
> Where she of kindred blood becomes a stranger
> The watchers of the heavens see afar and wide.
> The mighty sons of the Great God."

Yāmî, however, tries to persuade her brother that the gods themselves desire that he should unite himself with her, in order to propagate his race. But as he will not listen she grows more and more persistent, more and more passionate. Finally she bursts out in wild words of abuse reviling him as being a weakling and accuses him of wishing to embrace another woman, 'like the girth embraces the horse, the creeper the tree.' Whereupon Yama concludes the dialogue with the words:

> "Thou too, O Yāmî, embrace another,
> And that other thee as the creeper clasps the tree.
> Win thou his heart, let him win thine,
> And live with him in happiest harmony."

The dialogue is full of dramatic vigour. But in this poem, too, much is still unintelligible, and it is only a fragment of a story, though a fragment of a work which certainly was one of the first pieces of poetry in the whole of Indian literature.

Now, these Saṃvāda (or Ākhyāna) hymns have been the subjects of much discussion among scholars; they form one of the great problems of Indian literature, and are of the greatest importance for the history of Indian literature, because they throw considerable light on the origin of both epic and of the dramatic poetry.

About forty years ago H. Oldenberg first started a theory about these Saṃvāda hymns, in order to explain their fragmentary and enigmatic character. He said: The oldest form of epic poetry in India was the Ākhyāna, a tale in a mixture of prose and verse, the speeches of the persons only being in verses, while the events connected with the speeches were narrated in prose. But originally only the verses used to be committed to memory and handed down, while the prose story was left to be narrated by every reciter in his own words. Now in the Ākhyāna hymns of the Ṛgveda (as he called them), only the verse portions containing the speeches of the persons have been preserved, while the prose portions of the narrative, as they were not handed down in any fixed form, are lost to us. Only some of these narratives we can partly restore with the help of the Brāhmaṇas or the epic literature, or even of commentaries. Where these helps fail, nothing remains for us but to try to guess the story from the speeches. This theory was supported by the fact that not only in Indian but also in other literatures, the mixture of prose and verse is an early form of epic poetry. We find this form, for instance, in Old Irish and in Skandinavian poetry. In India we find it in some narrative portions of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. The story of Purūravas and Urvaśī is told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in prose with the verses of the Ṛgveda, the Uktapratyukta, as part of the Ākhyana. In the Śunaḥśepa Ākhyāna of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa we have also a prose story with verses (gāthā and ṛc) forming part of the Ākhyāna. In some old parts of the Mahābhārata, in the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, in the narrative literature of fables and tales, in the drama, and again in the Campu the mixture of prose and verse is an acknowledged and well established literary form. It is true that in all these cases the prose has been handed down together with the verses. But as the Ṛgveda professedly is the Veda of the Ṛc, that is of the verses, it was not possible to include any prose in the Saṃhitā of the Ṛgveda. And if an Akhyāna consisting of prose and verse was to find a place in the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā, the prose portion would have to be omitted. Thus the theory propounded by Oldenberg seemed very plausible and for a long time it was almost generally accepted by scholars.

But of late the theory has also met with a great deal of opposition. Many years back Max Müller and Sylvain Lèvi had already suggested that the dialogue poems of the Ṛgveda might be a kind of drama. This idea has been taken up by Joh. Hertel and L. Von Schroeder who tried to prove that these Saṃvāda hymns are really dialogues belonging to some *dramatic* performances connected with the religious cult. We have only, they say, to supply dramatic action, and the difficulties which these hymns offer to interpretation will disappear. What kind of action has to be supplied can of course only be guessed from the dialogues themselves.

I believe that there is some truth in both theories. First of all, it must be remembered as we shall see that poems like the dialogue hymns of the Ṛgveda occur very frequently in Indian literature. We find similar *half-epic half-dramatic* poems, consisting chiefly or entirely of dialogues or conversations in the Mahābhārata, in the Purāṇas and specially in Buddhist literature. Some scholars are inclined to see in all these poems a more or less developed dramatic· poetry. But surely a poem consisting of dialogues or speeches may appear very dramatic, but it cannot be called a real drama produced on a stage by actors. The dialogue-form is indeed, the most popular form of early narrative poetry. We find half narrative, half philosophical dialogues in the Upanishads, in the Mahābhārata and in the Tripiṭaka. In fact, the whole of the Mahābhārata and all the Purāṇas are dialogues or dialogues in dialogues. We often read in the didactic parts of the Mahābhārata the phrase: "Here they tell the following tale (itihāsa)," but what follows is a dialogue, a Saṃvāda. Therefore the stories of the Mahābhārata are often called "Itihāsa-Saṃvāda." And not only in India the dialogue is the favourite form of narrative and didactic poetry. It is so in the oldest literatures of other nations also. I mention only the Gilgamesh epic of the Babylonians, the Ægyptian Book of the Dead, the Zend-Avesta with its conversations between Zarathushtra and Ahura Mazda, the Book of Job in the Hebrew Bible. In Teutonic poetry we find that *the older* an epical poem is, the more space is taken up by conversations.

The Saṃvāda hymns of the Ṛgveda are, then, in my opinion, nothing else but *ancient ballads* of the same kind as are found also in the literatures of many other peoples. This ancient *ballad poetry* is at once the source both of the epic and of the dramatic poetry. For these ballads consist of a narrative and of a dramatic element. The epic arose from the narrative, the drama from the dramatic elements of the ancient ballad. And these ancient Ākhyānas or ballads were not always composed entirely in verse but sometimes an introductory or a concluding story was told in prose, and occasionally the verses were linked together by short explanations in prose. So far the old theory of Oldenberg may have some justification. But most of these hymns were simply *ballads* of the *half-epic, half-dramatic* type, though not real dramas, as some scholars have thought them to be.

Such ballads which treated of one and the same subject were often combined into a cycle. And such cycles of ballads formed the nucleus, from which the epic has developed.

Thus there existed once a cycle of ballads on the great war between Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, out of which some great poet shaped the great epic Mahābhārata in its original form, when it was a heroic poem only, and not yet an encyclopædia of religion, law and ancient lore, as it is now.

And so also the Rāmāyaṇa was based on ancient ballads on Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Happily one such ballad has been preserved to us in the Gāthās of the Daśaratha Jātaka, which contain the discourse by which Rāma comforts his brother Bharata on the death of their father Daśaratha. Though these Gāthās or verses are included in the Buddhist Jātaka book, they have nothing to do with Buddhism, but belong to non-Buddhist ballad poetry, to a cycle of ballads on the Rāma story. The ballad found its way into the Tripiṭaka on account of the ideas on the transitoriness of life and the inevitableness of death,—always a favourite theme with the Buddhists.

It is in Buddhist literature that this ballad poetry is met with most frequently. Long before there existed a connected story of the life of the Buddha, scenes from the life of the Master formed the subject of sacred ballads. They are found both in the Pali Tripiṭaka and in texts of other sects, the Mahāvastu and Lalitavistara, which proves that they belong to the earliest Buddha poetry. Three of these sacred ballads are found in the Suttanipāta: the Nālakasutta, the Pabbajjāsutta, and the Padhānasutta. The first of these ballads refers to the time immediately after the birth of the child that is to be the future Buddha:

The gods in heaven are in a state of pleasant excitement. The divine Ṛsí Asita becomes aware of their outbursts of joy, and in answer to his question, receives the reply that in the Lumbini grove in the town of the Śākyas the Buddha has just been born for the salvation of the world. Then the sage descends from heaven to the palace of Śuddhodana and requests to see the newly born boy.

"Then the Śākyas showed to Asita the child, the prince who was like shining gold, manufactured by a very skilful smith in the mouth of a forge, and beaming in glory and having a beautiful appearance.

"Seeing the prince shining like fire, bright like the bull of the stars wandering in the sky, like the burning sun in autumn, free from clouds, he joyfully obtained great delight."

And while invisible divine beings fan the child with sunshades and yaktails, the Ṛṣi Asita takes the child in his arms and calls out: "Without superior is this, the most excellent of men." But at the same moment he thinks of his own imminent end and bursts into tears. In consternation the Śākyas ask whether any evil threatens the boy. The sage reassures them. The boy will reach the summit of complete enlightenment. But he himself will not live to hear the preaching of the Buddha; therefore he is sorrowful. Before he departs, he exhorts his nephew Nālaka to follow the Buddha, as soon as his call will be heard.[1]

The second of these poems, the Pabbajjāsutta, describes the pabbajjā, that is the pravrajyā or departure from his home, of the youth Gotama and the meeting which, wandering as a mendicant ascetic, he had with the king of Rājagaha.

The third ballad, the *Padhānasutta* describes the episode how Māra, the Evil One, after having seven years followed Gotama step by step and tried in vain to get mastery over him, once more resumes the struggle and endeavours to bring him back to worldly life, and how Māra is again ignominiously defeated.

The two last ballads are also found in the Mahāvastu where we also meet with a ballad on the birth of Buddha. In the Mahāparinibbānasutta again, some of the verses are certainly remnants of ballads on the passing away of the

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[1] Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 10 (II), p. 124.

Master not (as Bishop Copleston thought) taken from a Buddha epic. And again in the Lalitavistara the oldest and most valuable parts are ballads on the most momentous episodes in the life of the Buddha. It is on such ballads as those found in the Lalitavistara that the first real *epic* treating of the life of Buddha, *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha Carita,* was based.

Once more in Buddhistic literature, we can observe the transition from ballad poetry to the epic in the case of the Dipavaṃśa and Mahāvaṃśa. The former contains old ballads on legendary history of Buddhism in Ceylon, while the Mahāvaṃśa treats the same matter in the form of a perfect epic, a Mahākāvya.

But not only the life of Buddha has been the subject of ballads. We find also a great many other legends in form of ballads in different parts of the Tripiṭaka. A regular ballad in prose and verse is the legend of the robber Aṅgulimāla who became a monk and rose to be an Arhat, in the Majjhimanikāya (86). Here (Nr. 83) we find also the ballad of king Makhādeva who, at the appearance of his first grey hair gives up his kingdom and enters the order of monks. One of the most beautiful of these ballads is found in the Raṭṭhapālasutta (Nr. 82), of which I will read you a short abstract.

Young prince Raṭṭhapāla desires to become a monk. His parents absolutely refuse to consent, but through abstaining from taking any food he compels them to give their permission. Years pass, and one day he returns as a monk, to his native town and begs at the door of his parents' home. His father does not recognise him and turns him away from the threshold with angry words of abuse. "By these shaven monks," he cries, "our only dearly beloved son was induced to renounce the world." Meanwhile the nurse comes out to throw away some scraps of food. The mendicant begs for these scraps for his meal. While he eats them the old nurse recognises him as the son of the house, and informs her master of it. The latter comes and invites his son to enter the house. Raṭṭhapāla politely declines by saying, "No, I have already dined to-day." But he accepts an invitation for the next day. And his father prepares not only a meal for him, but heaps of gold and jewellery in the dining room and instructs the former wives of Raṭṭhapāla to put on all their ornaments. On the next day he is received splendidly and his father offers him all the jewels and treasures. But Raṭṭhapāla only says: "If you will follow my advice, father, then load all this gold and ornaments on a cart and throw it into the Ganges where it is deepest. And why? Because only pain and misery, wretchedness and suffering will arise out of it." Nor will he have anything to do with the women who throw themselves coaxingly at his feet. After he has finished his meal, he quietly departs. Then he meets the king of the Kuru land and has a conversation with him. The king says, he could understand why a person who has become old or ill or poor or has lost his relatives should become a monk, but he could never understand, why one who is young and happy and in good health, should renounce the world. Raṭṭhapāla answers him with a discourse on the vanity of existence and the insatiableness of desire and convinces the king in a magnificent dialogue of the truth of the Buddha doctrine.

Some of the most beautiful Buddhist ballads occur in the Saṃyuttanikāya. Especially in the Mārasaṁyutta and the Bhikkhumsamyutta we find some of the best specimens of the oldest Buddhist poetry. Some of the short ballads found in the chapter on Māra and the nuns are among the finest productions of ancient Indian poetic art. Let me read to you only one of these ballads (5. 3) in a translation that of the nun Kisā-Gotamî (Gotamî the slender one):

Thus I have heard. The Master once sojourned at Savaṭṭhi in the Jetagrove in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍaka. The nun Kisā-Gotamî, after having put her robes on went in the morning into the town of Sāvatthi, with her alms-bowl under her garment, to beg for food. And after she had been begging in Sāvatthi and had returned with the food which she had obtained by begging she went after her meal, into the dark forest, in order to spend the day there. Then, when she had retired far into the dark forest, and sat down at the foot of a tree, to stay there for the day,—

Then Māra, the Evil One, desiring to cause fear, terror and horror to the nun Kisā-Gotamî and to disturb her deep meditation, went to the place where the nun Kisā-Gotamî was. And after having come near her, he addressed to the nun Kisā-Gotamî the verse :

" Why sittest thou, so lonesome there,
Like to a mother who has lost her son,
With tearful face, alone in the deep forest
Is it a man thou seekest ? "

Then the nun Kisā-Gotamî thought to herself. "Who is it, a human or a non-human being, who uttered a verse just now ?" and it occurred to the nun Kisā-Gotamî :

" It is Māra the Evil One, who in order to cause fear, terror and horror to me and to disturb my deep meditation has uttered the verse." But when the nun Kisā-Gotamî knew that it was Māra the Evil One, she addressed Māra, the Evil One, in the following verse :

" I am indeed a mother who has lost her son,
But men who would be near enough I need not seek,
I do not mourn nor weep,
Nor have I any fear of thee, my friend.
For lust is quite destroyed in me,
Dense darkness torn away ;
Death's army I have conquered, and I live from all evil free."

Then Māra, the Evil One, knew that the nun Kisā-Gotamî had recognised him, and unhappy and in low spirits he vanished from the spot.

Many more such ballads are found in the Jātaka Gāthās, and again in the Thera and Therîgāthās.

An extremely dramatic ballad is that of Sundarî in Therîgāthā (312-327):

In amazement the Brāhmaṇ Sujāta asks his wife Vasiṭṭhî how it is that she does not weep, though she has lost her seven children, when formerly she used to weep night and day for her deceased babes. She replies, that she has learnt from the Buddha how to escape birth and death :

> "Nay, Brahmin, many hundreds of our babes,
> And of our kinsfolk many hundred more,
> Have we in all the ages past and gone
> Seen preyed upon by death, both you and I.
> But I have learnt how from both birth and death
> A way there is t'escape, wherefore no more
> I mourn, nor weep, nor make any bitter wail.

Then the Brahmin too goes to Buddha and becomes a monk. He sends his charioteer back with a message to his wife that he has renounced the world. The woman is about to give the charioteer a horse and carriage and a thousand pieces of gold for the good news. But he replies :

> "Let them remain thine own, O Brahminee,
> Horses and chariots and the thousand coins,
> For I too, have a mind to leave the world,
> Near him of chiefest wisdom to abide."

Thereupon she offers to make her daughter Sundarî the heir of her father's estate. But Sundarî, too, rejecting cattle and horses, elephants, jewels and rings and all her father's estate, has made up her mind to renounce this world. And her mother wishes her success. And Sujātā becomes a great Therî and she is said to be the author of the poem.

Perhaps the most beautiful of these ballads is that of Śubhā, the nun whom a gallant tries to seduce, who plucks out her eye which the man has admired so much (Therîgatha 366 ff.) :[1]

"In Jîvaka's pleasant woodland walked Śubhā
The Bhikkunî. A gallant met her there
And barred the way. To him thus spake Śubhā :
'What have I done to offend thee, that thus in my path thou comest ?
No man, O friend, it beseemeth to touch a sister in orders ?
...........Why standest thou blocking my pathway ?
Me pure, thou impure of heart, me passionless, thou of vile passions ;
Me who as to the whole of me freed am in spirit and blameless,
Me whence comes it that thou dost hinder, standing obnoxious ? '
'Young art thou ; maiden, and faultless—what seekest thou in the holy life ?
Cast off that yellow-hued raiment and come ! in the blossoming wood-land
Seek we our pleasure. Filled with the incense of blossoms the trees waft
Sweetness. See, the springs at the prime the season of happiness !
Come with me then to the flowering woodland and seek we our pleasure
Haunted is the great forest with many a herd of wild creatures,
Broken its peace by the trampling of elephants rutting and savage.
Empty of mankind and fearsome—is't there thou would'st go uncompanioned ?
Thou like a gold wrought statue like nymph in celestial garden
Movest, O peerless creature. Radiant would shine thy loveliness
Robed in raiment of beauty, diaphanous gear of Benares............
Dearer and sweeter to me than art thou in the world is no creature,
Thou with the languid and slow moving eyes of an elf of the forest.
If thou wilt list to me, come where the joys of the sheltered life wait thee,
Dwell in a house of Verandas and terraces, hand-maidens serving thee.
Robe thyself in delicate gear of Benares, don garlands, use unguents...'
'What now to thee, in this carrion-filled grave-filling carcase so fragile
Seen by thee, seemeth to warrant the doctrine thou speakest infatuate ? '
'Eyes hast thou like the gazelle's, like an elf's in the heart of the mountains
'Tis those eyes of thee, sight of which feedeth the depth of my passion...

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[*] Translated by Mr. Rhys Davids, p. 149 (abridged).

Though thou be far from me, how could I ever forget thee, O maiden,
Thee of the long-drawn eye-lashes, thee of the eyes so miraculous ?
Dearer to me than those orbs is naught, O thou witching-eyed fairy ! '
' Lo, thou art wanting to walk where no path is, thou seekest to capture
Moon from the skies for thy play, thou would'st jump o'er the ridges of Meru,
Thou who presumest to lie in wait for a child of the Buddha.
Nowhere in earth or in heaven lives now any object of lust for me......
Tempt thou some women who hath not discerned what I say, or whose teacher
Is but a learner; haply she'll listen ; tempt thou not Śubhā ;
She understandeth. And now 'tis thyself hast vexation and failure......
Oh, I have seen it—a puppet well-painted, with new wooden spindles,
Cunningly fastened with strings and with pins, and diversely dancing.
But if the strings and the pins be all drawn out and loosened and scattered,
So that the puppet be made non-existent and broken in pieces.
Which of the parts wilt thou choose and appoint for my heart's rest and solace
Such is the manner wherein persist these poor little bodies.
Take away members and attributes—nothing disturbeth in any wise......
What is this eye but a little ball lodged in the fork of a hollow tree,
Bubble of film, anointed with tearbrine, exuding slime-drops,
Compost wrought in the shape of an eye of manifold aspect ? '
Forthwith the maiden so lovely tore out her eye and gave it to him :
' Here, then ! take thou thine eye ! ' Nor sinned she, her heart unobstructed.
Straightway the lust in him ceased and he her pardon imploring :
" O that thou mightest recover thy sight, thou maid pure and holy !
Never again will I dare to offend thee after this fashion.
Sore hast thou smitten my sin, blazing flames have I clasped to my bosom ;
Poisonous snake have I handled—but O ! be thou healed and forgive me ! '
Freed from molesting, the Bhikkhunî went on her way to the Buddha,
Chief of th' awakened. There in his presence, seeing those features
Born of uttermost merit, straightway her sight was restored to her."

These ballads have all the dialogue form, and generally the dialogue is sufficient to make the hearer understand the course of the narrative. Where this was not the case, brief prose formulas, a short introduction, and a few short sentences in prose were inserted. The next step in the development of the ballad was that narrative stanzas were inserted between the stanzas containing the conversation. This last stage is mostly represented in these Buddhist ballads; and they form the bridge to the epic.

But all these Buddhist ballads are also full of dramatic movement, and some scholars are inclined to see in them real 'little dramas.' But it is not likely that any dramatic performance was connected with them. For in the whole Tripiṭaka we do not find any trace of sacred dramas being performed. On the contrary, the Buddhist monks were forbidden to take part in any plays or dramatic performances. In the time of Aśvaghoṣa, it is true, this rule was no longer observed. For Aśvaghoṣa himself is the author of a Buddhist drama, fragments of which have been discovered in Turfan (Central Asia).

There is certainly a strong dramatic element in all these ballads, both secular and religious. And there can be no doubt, that they contributed as much to the *origin of the drama* as to the origin of the epic.

Indian writers on poetics have often said that the *drama* is the highest form of poetry; and in the West also the drama is generally considered to be the highest type of poetic production. The reason for this estimate is, that in the drama epic and lyric poetry are combined with imitative representation of life *to one* harmonious work of art. And this combination of literary arts is not only the highest perfection but also (though only in a rudimentary form) the *beginning* of poetic art. For in *one* sense the drama is the first of all kinds of poetry. Primitive people, like children will never tell a story, without accompanying it with corresponding gestures.

Among the Australian natives and other primitive people we find very artistic pantomimes. But even among civilised peoples it was impossible in ancient time to make a ballad known to the public, except by recitation accompanied by pantomime. Thus in the ballad there is always a strong dramatic element. And an American scholar (G. Morey Miller [1] in the University Studies of the University of Cincinnati 1905) has proved from a comparison of the ballad poetry of numerous peoples, that the recitation of ballads was originally always combined with song and dramatic dance. It is well known to ethnologists that dance among primitive people is always mimic dance, representing some action and that this dance is closely connected with the origin of the drama. The ancient or primitive ballads themselves are so dramatic that Morey Miller calls them 'Ballad plays.'

Now in India also we have found a rich literature of ballads first in the dialogue hymns of the Ṛgveda, then in the Ākhyānas and Itihāsas embodied in the Mahābhārata and in some of the Purāṇas and again in old Buddhist literature and some of the Jaina sacred texts. All these ballads which chiefly consist of dialogues, are very dramatic and some Western scholars are now inclined to see in them real dramas.

The fact is that in India to the present day there is no sharp line of demarcation between ballad recitation and the dramatic performance. When Sir George Grierson had read my account of the Buddhist ballads, he wrote to me (in 1912), that these ballads reminded him of the *Khyals* of Rājasthān, written in Mārwarî dialect. These Khyals treat some popular legend in the form of a dialogue in verses, or a prose tale mixed with dialogue verses, and they are sometimes recited by one person only, and sometimes acted on the stage. And what you here in Bengal hear and see at *Yātrā* productions and *Kirtans* may be called recitation as well as drama.

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[1] The Dramatic Element in Popular Ballad.

K. Ramavarma Raja (J. R. A. S. 1910) describes the Dramas (as he calls them), produced by the Cakkyars in Mālabār whom he describes as the representatives of Paurāṇic Sutas, and his whole description shows, that he does not make any distinction between recitation and dramatic performance. Even in Sanskrit such expressions as *bharata* and *kuśīlava* are used both for singers and bards, and for actors.

This, however, is only a survival of an early stage of poetry, when our distinctions between epic, lyric and dramatic poetry cannot be applied at all, but when all poetry was dramatic, epic and lyric at the same time and generally accompanied by dancing, music and singing.

And we may add : this poetry was as a rule religious. In India also, the oldest ballads were those in which stories of divine or half-divine beings were told and which were recited at sacrifices and festivals. And as in other countries, in India also the drama is deeply rooted in the religious cult. Many of the ancient Vedic ceremonies as described in the Śrautasūtras, are almost dramatic performances, at which priests and sacrificers are the actors. In post-Vedic times plays were connected with the Indradhvaja festival at the end of the rainy season, and especially with the cult of the gods Viṣṇu (both as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa) and Śiva. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa describes how the Gopīs, allured by the songs of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma at night gather around the god, to perform the Rāsa dance, and how dancing they imitate the deeds and adventures of Kṛṣṇa.

That dancing and acting are closely connected is proved by the terms Nāṭaka, Naṭa, Nāṭya, Natyati which are all connected with the Prakrit root Naṭ, Nṛt 'to dance.'

Traces of the religious origin of the Sanskrit drama are still to be found in our literary dramas which all begin with a Nandi, an introductory prayer.

This Nandi, however, is only a remnant of a longer religious ceremony, the Pūrvaranga, which is described in the

Bharatîya-Nāṭyaśāstra. This Pūrvaranga preceded the production of every play and consisted of invocation of the deities with music, singing and dancing.

The religious origin of the Indian drama has also left its trace in the fact, that myths and legends especially those of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, have in all centuries been the favourite subjects of the drama and even Buddhist poets made scenes from the Buddha legend the subject of their plays. And the popular dramatic performances in modern India are still a religious affair such as the Yātrās in Bengal, the Bhavais in Gujrat, and the Swang in the Punjab.

But this ancient ballad poetry in its connection with minor dances at religious festivals, it must be remembered, is only one of the sources of the Indian drama. There must also have existed in ancient India some sort of popular plays in which scenes from real life were represented for the entertainment of the people. We have no direct proof of the existence of such plays, but we hear already in later Vedic texts and still more in the epic and Buddhist texts of Naṭas, a low class of itinerent players or 'actors.' The popular plays, produced by these Naṭas, were probably not literary works but improvisations which were never written down. But the poets who created the literary drama, had seen such popular performances, and imitated them in a refined form.

In the different kinds of dramatic poetry, and in the peculiarities of the Indian classical drama we find traces both of ancient religious ballad and of the coarse popular play. The connection with the ancient ballad poetry is more conspicuous in the Nāṭaka, while the influence of the popular play is more visible in the *Prakaraṇa.*

The Vyāyoga of which the Madhyamavyāyoga, one of the plays ascribed to Bhāsa, is a good example, is little more than a dramatised ballad. And if the plays ascribed to Bhāsa are really the works of this poet, all those dramas of his which are based on Mahābhārata stories or on the Kṛṣṇa and the Rāma legends, clearly betray their origin from the ancient heroic ballad. But about this question—the authorship of 'Bhāsa's plays'—I shall have to speak in my next lecture.[1]

M. WINTERNITZ

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[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University on 26th August, 1923.

SOME VIEWS FROM NASIK

The monasteries (vihâras) and the chaitya hall cut into the rock at Nâsik in the Western Ghats, are the work of nine centuries of Buddhist devotion and Indian craftsmanship (second century B.C. to seventh century A.D.). Some of the artistically most significant excavations are reproduced on the accompanying plates.

The front view of the chaitya cave in simulated three storeys (fig. 1) suggests windows where there is the straightened wall of the rock, with horse-shoe arches round and homely, reminiscent of the wooden frame work that commonly must have been employed in the domestic architecture in ancient India, of which these excavations give the counterfeit, enlarged and rendered permanent. The wooden railing too, simple pattern of intersecting bars, most primitive device to fence off a piece of land, on the façade of the chaitya hall underlines the division into storeys, and becomes repeated over and over again in horizontal bands, broad and restful. Heavy pilasters, with pot-shaped capitals and crouching animals mark the vertical direction in regular spaces into which stūpa-shapes are placed to recall the parinirvāna. Another symbolic device under the arch of the doorway, few small relief figures in the third storey, and the Dvārapāla to the left of the entrance are emblems, economically displayed to indicate that the façade is that of a Buddhist temple. Hînayāna Buddhism at this stage (130 A.D.) though treating the outside of the sacred halls with carefully grouped ornamentation, still kept under strict control the freer movement of animated forms. The interspaces between the pilasters and the openings of the windows are filled with a network of variegated geometrical design, forming patterns ad infinitum, in regular alternation of light and shade. This magic carpet wrought in stone and hung over the surface of the cave, had its prototype in the bamboo screen that fitted into the windows of houses and huts to protect the rooms from the heat and glare of sunshine. The geometrical patterns in chess-board, lozenge—and star shape give animation to the façade; they are genuinely Indian. The art of Islam generally held to be responsible for those geometrical designs spun over large surfaces of buildings and furniture, does not deserve the credit of having employed them for the first time.

The dignified and somewhat heavy regularity of the horizontal and vertical arrangement, of broad surfaces and flat cornices is interrupted by the large 'horse-shoe' window in the centre, by the doorway right below it and by the many blind 'horseshoe-windows' in variegated sizes. Light is admitted into the chaitya hall from the centre only, and reaches the dāgoba, right opposite to the large window—and door opening, in the apsis of the hall.

The austere Chaitya hall (fig. 2), frugal and somewhat poor in proportions does not claim any architectonic merit. As one amongst the Buddhist Chaitya halls of early date, it represents the current type, well suited for assembly and worship alike. Two rows of faceted pillars without capitals stand in pot-like basis, support the triforium belt, that shows the mortice holes to receive the wooden parts, now perished, of the original scheme. Behind them a narrow corridor is allowed to run along the sides and apsis behind the dāgoba, so as to make the straightness of the walls disappear in a dim light, in an uncertain play of shadows, that soften all harshness and seem to widen the hall through which the rows of pillars tend towards the dāgoba, in rhythmic measure, directing all attention to the sanctuary. The barrel-vaulted ceiling too is filled with darkness. The contrast of light and shade, anticipated in the ornamentation of the façade, fills the interior of the cave with the suggestiveness of art.

The façade of the Gautamīputra cave (fig. 3), four centuries later than that of the Chaitya, has a verandah, supported by pillars of the same type as those that ornamented the Chaitya façade, get with the pot-capital broadened and flattened and with an increased number of decorative figures. The railing pattern of parapet and architrave has changed from an elongated chess-board design, articulated in light and dark, into rows of plastic protuberances, representing lotus-flowers. The sharpness in delineation is lost, a new sense of volume and mass is gained; with this broad and not oversensitive display of modelled forms an increased luxuriousness in the representation of human and animal figures goes hand in hand. This may be seen from a comparison of the minute heads in the middle band of the cornice that marks the first story of the Chaitya façade, with the large shapes at the bottom of the Gautamīputra cave. They do not know any longer of the restraint and calculated subordination peculiar to ornamental devices.

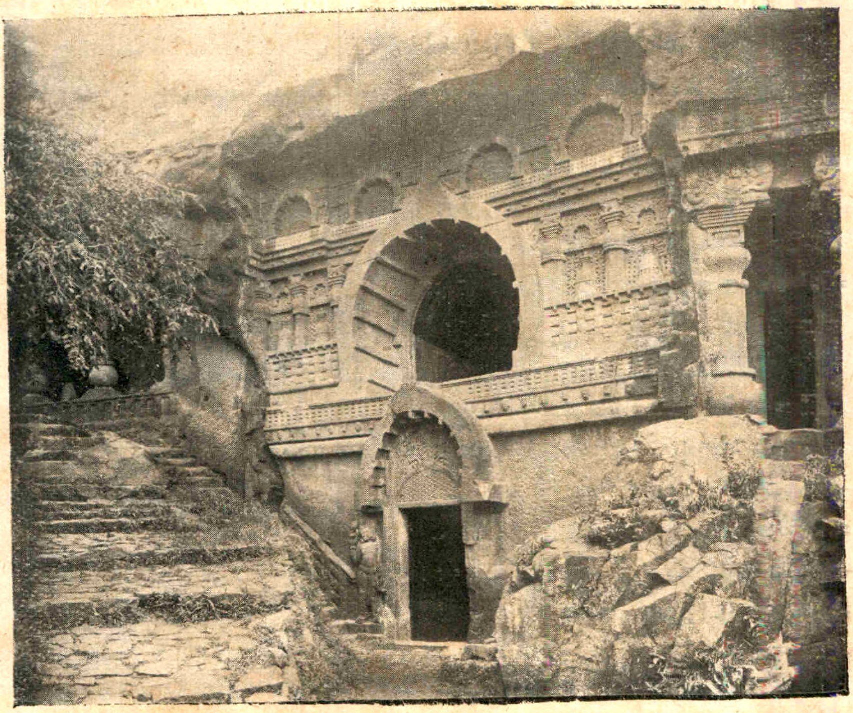
The Śrī Yajña-vihāra (fig. 4) belongs to the end of the 2nd century A. D. The large central hall, where the monks used to assemble, has its walls pierced by doors, leading to the cubicles of the monks, while in the centre of the furthermost wall a deep cell is cut out for the image of Buddha, flanked by attendant figures. This part of the cave was, according to inscription, excavated by the order of Vasu, wife of the Commander-in-chief of King Śrî Yajña Śâtakarṇi.

The photos (figs. 5 and 6) are taken from cave XVII, the latest excavation at Nāsik, about 600 A.D. The Buddha figure sits in "European fashion," similiar to that in front of the Dāgoba, in the Viśvakarma cave, Ellora. He and his two attendants are modelled in a grandeur, whose vastness places every limb into the space of godhead, freed from the narrow bustle of life. Their broad and serene faces are faint with tenderness and compassion that does not make smaller their majesty; it is grace, all dominant, that gives to these figures the ease of agelessness.

Another view of the same cave (fig. 6) mutilated in the course of time and crowded with images and groups, that take no notice of their neighbours, maintains the fascination of cave-art, in which the forms of nature and human creation are married in the magic of light in darkness.

S. K.

NASIK



Chaitya Cave, Front View

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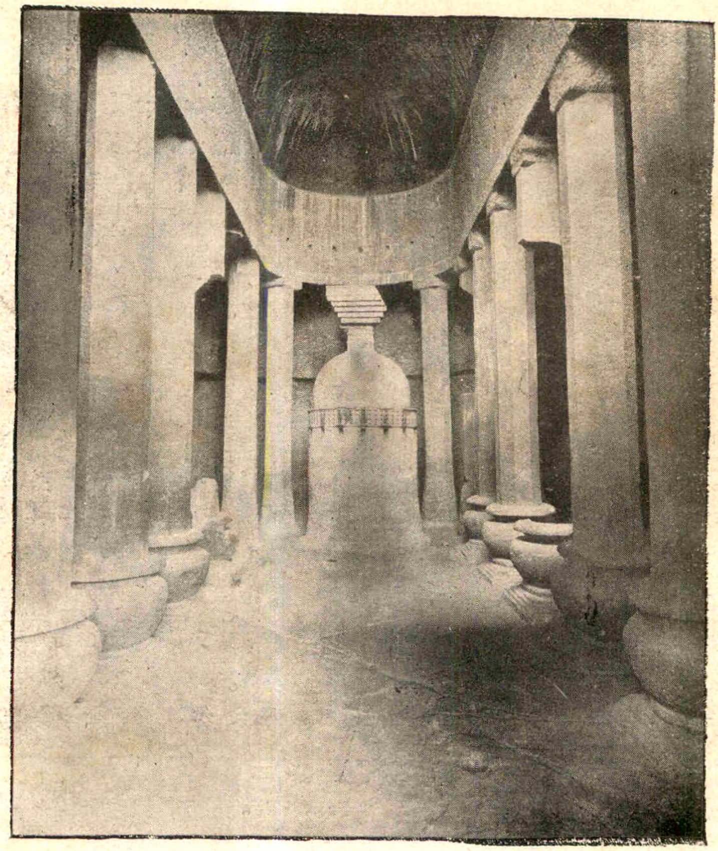

Chaitya Cave, Interior

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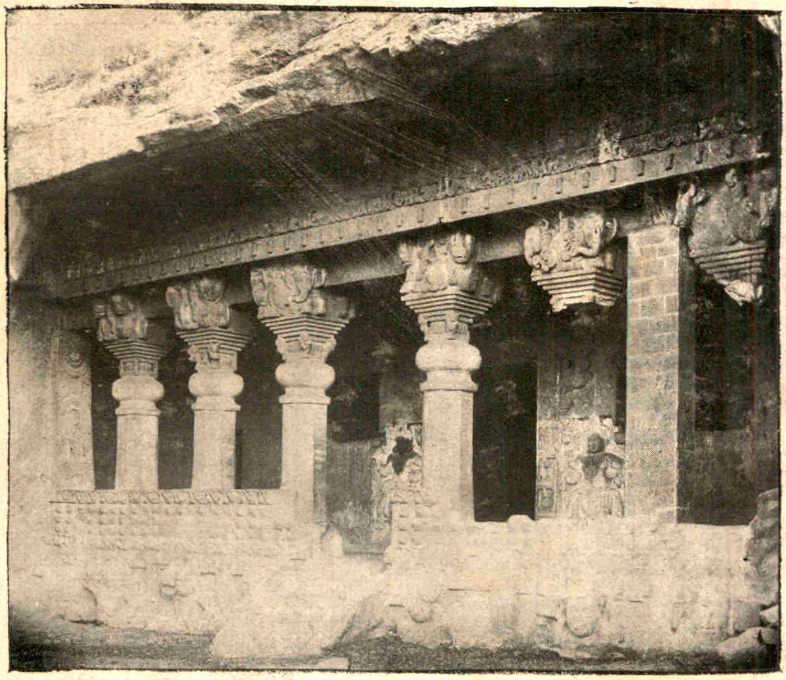

Gautamiputra Cave

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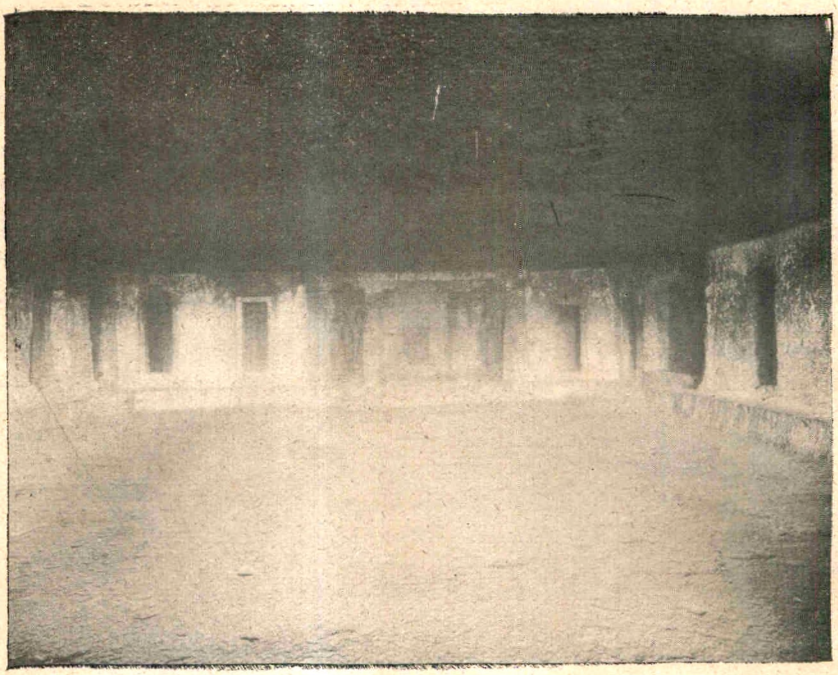

Srī Yajna Vihāra, Interior

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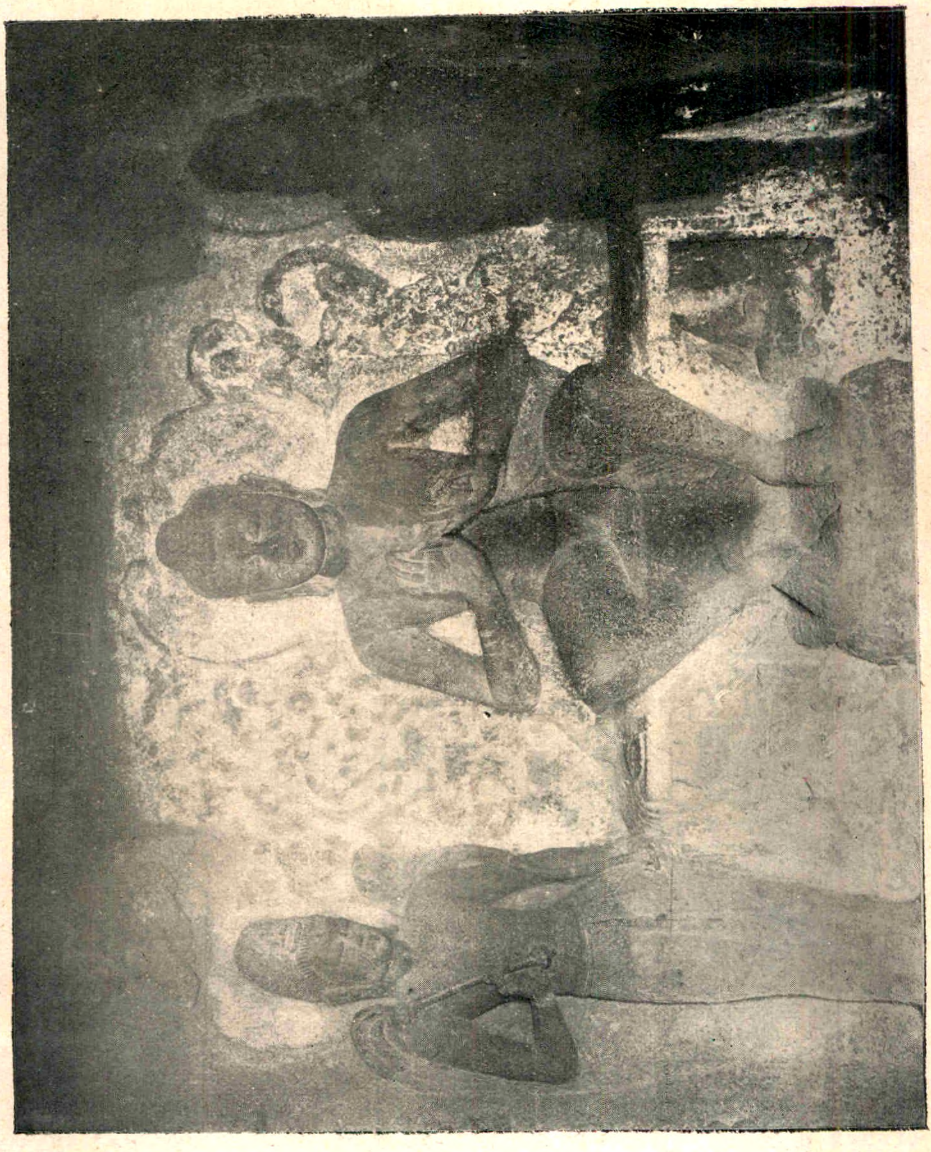

Cave XVII.—Buddha and Attendants

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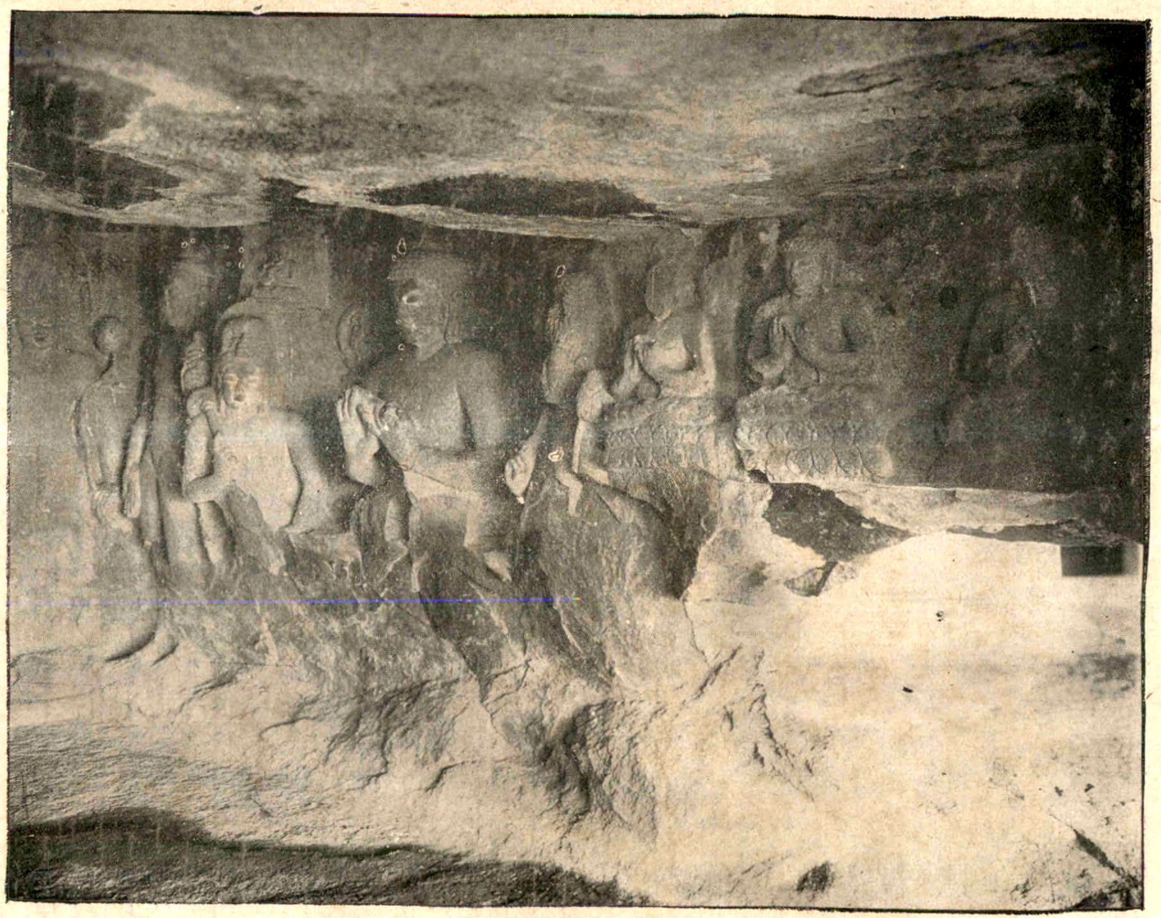

Cave XVII—Interior

Reviews

The Book of Religion and Empire—by Ali Tabari, translated into English by Dr. Mingana. (Longmans, Green and Co.)

Under the Omayyads a lively intellectual life was developed, and manifold must have been the relations between Muslim and Christian theologians. That religious discussions between them were very frequent we might be certain; even though dialogues between Muslims and Christians have not been preserved in the writings of John of Damascus and Theodore Abucara. It was out of these theological discussions, in all probability, that sprang up the first religious sects of Islam, *viz.*, those of the Murjiah and the Qadriyyah. ("Khuda Bukhsh, Islamic Civilization," p. 58.) So favourable then was the position of the Christians that they were even suffered to enter the mosques unmolested, and go about in public adorned with the golden cross. The toleration, accorded by the Caliphs must, of necessity, have encouraged frequent intercourse with Muslims. By associating with Greek theologians, finely disciplined in the art of dialectic, the Arabs first learnt philosophical reasoning, which later on they prized so highly. It was from them again that they received their first lesson in dogmatic subtleties—an art in which the Byzantine Scholarship revelled. In this way alone is to be explained the remarkable similarity which we notice in the main features of Byzantine Christianity and Islamic dogmatics.

A religious discussion is reported to have taken place between Abdul Malik b. Merwan (A.D. 692-705) and Ibrahim, son of Rahib (Monk) Tabarrani, but of this discussion no details or particulars are forthcoming. But despite the lack of historical information we will not be far wrong in assuming that religious discussions continued uninterrupted until the second half of the eighth and the firsthalf of the ninth centuries when they became more and more general and widespread. No longer merely fleeting discussions they now assume a more enduring form. Timothy, Patriarch of the East Syrian Church (A.D. 780-822) has handed down to us the gist of the public discussion that he had before the Caliph Madhi about 788 A.D. Somewhere about this time Abu Nuh of Anbar wrote a refutation of the Quran, referred to in the Catalogue of Ebedjesu of Nisibis, completed in A.D. 1298. Assemani mentions a work entitled "Discussion between the monk Abu Karah and the Commander of the Faithful." Steinschneider identifies this Commander of the Faithful with the Caliph Mamun (A.D. 813-833). But whatever may be the case so far as this discussion is concerned—the famous apology of Christianity by Al-kindi was written during the Caliphate of Al-Mamun. Mamun was notoriously heterodox. It was under him, indeed, that the edict against the dogma of the eternity of the Quran was published and enforced. The atmosphere prevailing then was an atmosphere of indifference to religion and hence assaults on Islam—assaults both open and violent. But Muslims, too, were aroused into opposition. They resented, retorted, entered the path of warfare. Amr b. Bahr Al-Jahidh, the famous Muslim philosopher (d. A.D. 869), wrote a pamphlet entitled " Answer to Christians." Abu Isa Mohamed al Waraq, too, wrote a dissertation on the subject which evoked a reply from the monophysite Yahya b. Adi of Takrit (d. A.D. 974). But—to our deep and lasting regret—both these works have perished.

The work, lying before us, is of great historic importance. Apart from being one of the most ancient in order of date it has a two-fold significance. It is a semi-official defence of Islam undertaken at the instance of the Caliph Mutawakkil and is a work of high literary and historical merit and excellence.

Meagre and shadowy is the information regarding its author. All that we know about him is that he was a Christian convert to Islam; that Mutasim first discerned his merits and made him a favourite at court; that Mutawakkil continued the royal patronage and included him among the number of his table-guests; that he was a man of wide culture, refined tastes, profound learning and was the instructor of Radhi in the medical profession. Among his works [are mentioned: " Paradise of Medicine," " Gentleness of Life "; " Utility of Food and Drink and Medicinal Herbs "; " Preservation of Health "; " Enchantment ": " Sacrification "; " Preparation of Food."

We cannot fix the date either of the composition of this book or the date of the author's death but Dr. Mingana considers the year of his death to have been A.D. 854-855 and the composition of the text, in all probability, shortly before his death. Numerous are the references to the Bible in this book. The author has evidently used the Syriac version. He speaks of a Biblical version by a certain Marcus, the " Tarjaman " but we can find no trace of him anywhere. "From the ' Firhist' (pp. 23-24) we know that the Old and New Testaments were translated into Arabic long before the tenth century, but we have no reason to identify the problematic Marcus as author of an Arabic book, with Marcus the Tarjaman spoken of in the present defence. On p. 306 the ' Firhist' mentions an earlier but still more problematic Marcus."

The first thing that strikes us in reading this book is that it is singularly free from heat and passion. It is not of the kind of controversial books which suffer passion to get better of reason or of obdurate facts. It indulges in no vituperation or tirades. It suppresses or distorts no facts. It presents its case supported by authorities and enforced by arguments. It is a sober, reasoned document striving to get at the truth and seeking to vindicate the honour of Islam. It bears witness to the fact that even, in that age, and among people highly inflammable in matters religious, there were men of broad views, wide outlook, sober judgment. A mere glance at the contents suffices to show the different aspects from which the subject is approached and dealt with. The prophecies regarding the Prophet loom largest in the book. More than half-a-dozen chapters deal with them. And this is not to be wondered at; for the most effective defence would be one which drew its substance and strength from the Bible. To establish from Christian books that the advent of the Prophet was foretold would be to place Islam on a basis, sure, incontestable. Hence the elaboration; hence the weight entered the path of warfare. Amr b. Bahr Al-Jahidh, the famous Muslim philosopher (d. A.D. 869), wrote a pamphlet entitled "Answer to Christians." Abu Isa Mohamed al Waraq, too, wrote a dissertation on the subject which evoked a reply from the monophysite Yahya b. Adi of Takrit (d. A.D. 974). But—to our deep and lasting regret—both these works have perished.

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Religious discussion and disputations seem to be a thing of the past now. The modern world has very considerably extended the range of its interests and widened the field of its activities. Religion, therefore, has no longer the same place or the same hegemonic sway as it had in the days gone by. And we read with wonder and amazement the controversial literature of the past ages! Shall we add with Gibbon, commisseration and contempt as well? In his essay on Rabelais, that master of irony and satire—Anatole France—says:

"Rabelais maintained his opinions, but not up to the burning point, reckoning in advance of and with Montaigne, that to die for an idea is to put a very high value on one's opinions. Far from blaming him I praise him. Martyrdom must be left to those who, not knowing how to doubt, have in their very simplicity the excuse for their pig-headedness. Like the Serenus of M. Jules Lemaitre, one is shocked that men should be so positive about things, which one has sought so long without finding, and when in the end one remains in doubt."

Yes! we have lost the positiveness, the certainty, the assuredness of the Age of Faith. And why then should we risk our lives for opinions or dissipate our energies in proclaiming the truth of our beliefs? Doubt and uncertainty are the two unmistakable characteristics of the modern times. And controversial literature thrive not in such surroundings! They belong to an age radically and fundamentally different from ours. But they are none the less interesting and instructive study. They not only furnish splendid examples of fiery passion; untamed fervour; sustained eloquence but also reveal a world totally unlike ours.

Our author speaks of the victory of the Prophet as a mark of his Prophetic office (Chapter X) and this chapter is well worth a perusal. If any miracle was needed to convince the unbelievers or to sustain the courage of the faithful it was the wondrous success of the Prophet and his religion. In the success of Islam the Faithful saw the hand divine guiding, supporting, uplifting the weary toilers of the dreary path and leading them to the goal and crown of victory—victory such as no imagination could have divined; no ambition could have fashioned or held up before its ardent vision. This was a miracle of miracles—a proof beyond cavil or dispute. In a language at once passionate and lyrical Tabari says:—

"Who has ever claimed such a victory, in the name of God since the creation of the world by God? A victory comprising conditions and good qualities such as call to the Creator of heaven and earth, abstraction from this world, encouragement for the world to come, prevention from associating other gods and helpers with God and from committing iniquity and impurity? A victory which was realized in such a decisive and unquestionable way, in all the countries and regions of the earth, on sea and land from the extreme seas to the deserts of Turkistan and Tibet by means of devotees and deeply pious leaders, and by proclamations in the name of the God of Abraham, Ismael, Isaac, Jacob, and the rest of the Prophets" (p. 58).

No less interesting is Chapter XV where Tabari discusses the virtue and piety of some of the rulers of Islam. A religion which could so transform human nature and produce such striking results needs, so contends our author, no other or further proof of its truth and genuineness. His defence of the miracles of the Prophet calls for a brief notice. Charges of fraud and imposture are no new charges against the Prophet but apparently at the time of our author they were urged with greater frequency and virulence. The answer of Tabari is short, simple, effective. They (*i.e.*, those that have reported the miracles), says Tabari,

"resemble the Apostles of Christ who transmitted to the Christians portions of the gospel, and handed down to them the history of the Christ. Therefore if these men are reliable and worthy of confidence in transmitting his history, they are not to be suspected in all that they have related of him ; but if they are not reliable in that point, they are to be suspected in all that they have transmitted, and are deceivers first of themselves, and then of all men," (p. 36).

Reasoned, temperate, argumentative, historical this book is throughout marked with a high level of culture, scholarship, broad-based catholicism. It never descends to rancour or vulgarity. It seeks to convince, not to attack or revile; to win over by persuasion and not to repel by violence. It is of a piece with the spirit of toleration, refinement, liberalism which is the striking note of Islamic culture. Avicina, Al-Farabi, Sanai, Saib, down to our own times, Mir Taqi, Zawq, Ghalib—the Muslim brotherhood is a brotherhood conspicuous for its justice, toleration and charity.

I shall conclude with one passage eminently characteristic of the spirit of this book.

"If a man from the 'People of the Book' reviles one of the rules of the faith, and one of the practices of the Muslims, he will be grossly unjust to us, will repudiate and blame all the Prophets, and will expose himself to sin and punishment. If they blame sacrifices, they are inherited from Abraham and from all the prophets of his posterity. If they reprobate circumcision, it was practised by the Christ and by those who preceded Him. If they condemn divorce, their own books will render their endeavour fruitless; and if they condemn swearing by God, it is the saying of the Most High to His Prophets. . . . . . If they blame the Holy war, Abraham fought the four kings who had made inroads into the country of Jazirah to invade its inhabitants. . . . ." (p. 153).

Here is no rancour, no bitterness, no malice, no ill-will. And such is the pervading spirit throughout. The translator is to be congratulated on the excellence of his translation and on the immense service he has rendered to Islamic learning.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

From Akbar to Aurangzeb, A Study in Indian Economic History, By W. A. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E., pp. xiii+364, Macmillan and Co., price 15*s*. net.

It is a continuation of the author's "India at the Death of Akbar" and is marked by the same industry, accuracy, care and intellectual honesty. Mr. Moreland has not only studied the old records of the English East India Co., so easily available to a scholar working at London, but also the Portuguese works on the subject and Portuguese records whenever possible, as well as those valuable Dutch Dagh Registers, hitherto systematically ignored by Indian and English scholars alike. Mr. Moreland naturally gives a detailed account of the growth and development of the Portuguese, Dutch and English trade in India and we cannot blame him if he fails to speak of all that we are naturally curious to know about India and Indians proper, for the Persian chronicles and Persian letters yield but scanty information. The provincial vernacular literatures may be studied and made to throw some light on the economic life of mediæval India but we are aware how inadequate will be the results of the immense labour necessary for such an endeavour. Mr. Moreland's account of the growth of European trade in India leaves nothing to be desired.

One thing, however, is apparent. So far as the necessities of life were concerned, India was absolutely independent. "Spices and dye woods, horses and elephants, raw silk, ivory, coral and a few other materials, copper, lead, tin, zinc, and quicksilver in quantities which now-a-days seem absurdly small, together with luxury goods and miscellaneous articles valued mainly for their novelty,—these were the commodities chiefly in demand, and merchants who were not in a position to provide them had to offer silver or gold if they desired to purchase Indian goods." Mr. Moreland observes that—"the population of India consisted of a small but extremely extravagant upper class, a small and frugal middle and a very numerous lower class, living on the same plane of poverty as now but on the whole substantially worse off." This, however, is no peculiarity of India and the observation is equally applicable to all other countries, both Asiatic and European, in the same period, and would not be altogether inaccurate when applied to a modern progressive country, say for instance, England. Until the present economic organisation of western countries is substantially changed a small extravagant and extremely wealthy upper class will still continue to dominate over and exploit a large class of indigent and underpaid labourers. But we cannot agree with Mr. Moreland when he says that the lower class at the accession of Aurangzeb was worse off than it is to-day. That the workmen "knew little of the taste of meat" can hardly be taken as a sign of hardship. Indians, as a rule, do not live upon a meat diet and can and in fact do without a dish of meat as an English labourer can very conveniently do without a fine *chadar* in the summer. But the contemporary authority, so confidently quoted by Mr. Moreland, says that the workman in these days could afford to have with his daily dish of *kichri*, a quantity of butter and this is a convincing proof that he was substantially better off than his modern descendant. To-day few people of the small frugal middle class can afford to have a lump of butter with their frugal dish of boiled rice and vegetables. Moreover, the famines in those days, as Mr. Moreland rightly observes, were food famines, there was a dearth of food grains and no amount of state aid could relieve the victims. But now-a-days there is no lack of food grains even when people die by thousands. On the contrary, food grains are exported to more wealthy countries every year. Only the hungry peasant cannot pay the high famine price and has no other alternative, as of old, but to die of starvation or commit suicide or, in some instances unfortunately not very rare, relieving his wife and children of all their hardships by putting a violent end to their lives. The policeman and the peon are still much better off than the peasant who cultivates the field. So there has been no change, as Mr. Moreland seems to suggest, for the better.

Mr. Moreland seems to think that European merchant communities enjoyed rights analogous to extra-territoriality. The application of modern terms to mediæval institutions and practices always leads to a wrong estimate of facts. In those days the merchant communities and merchant guilds enjoyed the right of managing their own affairs. Village communities enjoyed similar rights and immunities as artizan guilds. This did not mean that they were independent and enjoyed an equal status with the sovereign of the land. The Dutch and the English enjoyed the same rights as the Arabs and if Mr. Moreland had made a careful enquiry he would have been convinced that the President of these foreign merchant companies did not enjoy any right which was not exercised by the native Shete Mahajans or Presidents of Indian merchant guilds. This was an immemorial custom in India. But while the sovereign allowed all communities, rural or mercantile, to manage their own internal affairs without any let or hindrance from him, he certainly retained the right of enforcing his will upon them whenever he liked, and when viewed in this light Mr. Moreland will, we hope, admit that the English East India Company had no better right to defy the authority of the Moghul Emperor than his Maratha subjects and it was in no sense a war between two equal powers.

The book is well written and will well repay a perusal. It is interesting to enquire to what extent the English were indebted to the Dutch for their commercial policy and organisation. We are eagerly awaiting Mr. Moreland's next volume in which we hope he will give an account of India at the death of Aurangzeb.

S. N. SEN

Parnal Parvat Grahanakhyan, by Jayram Kavi, edited and translated into Marathi by Sadashiv Mahadev Divekar, Kalyan, Dt. Thana, pp. 50, price ten annas.

The Editor has appended to the Sanskrit text an accurate Marathi translation and a scholarly introduction. The text was discovered in the Tanjore Library and its author, a contemporary of Sivaji, and his step-brother Ekoji, seems to have enjoyed the reputation of a poet, voluminous writer and a linguist of no mean ability. The present work gives a metrical account of Sivaji's capture of Panhala not unaccompanied by poetical exaggeration, but such works though not professedly historical have their own value, and all students of Maratha history are indebted to Mr. Divekar for his scholarly labours and enterprise in bringing to the public notice a work of so much interest.

S. N. Sen

Selected Essays of Robert Louis Stevenson by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., Oxford University Press, 1923.

These Essays are delightful reading. Stevenson is always delightful. He is a master of the art of self-portraiture. We love his self-revealing essays and we love them all the more, as he wrote most of them in a land far away from his own, wrote them as an exile, under the grim shadow of conquering death. But despite the gloomy surroundings he is never gloomy himself. This buoyant spirit defied sickness, sorrow and gloom and rose triumphant over them all. In his lifetime Stevenson received unbounded praise and admiration. They were exaggerated, extravagant. A reaction set in and, too soon, indeed. But whatever his admirers may have said or his detractors may say—there is one thing, beyond the range of controversy, his position, in the English letters, as an essayist. That is his and assured is that position there. Wit, humour, irony—they sparkle in his pages. No one can describe their subtle, ineffable charm. His *Vuginibus puerisque* and *Memories and Portraits,* are masterpieces of their kind. Who can describe their beauty or convey their charm ?

Mr. Rawlinson is doing good service by his Selections from such authors as Stevenson and Morley. In the busy world of to-day there is no longer the leisure or the inclination to most people to read through the volumes of great authors. The result is neglect, indifference, ignorance. If selections were made, within a short compass, from standard works—we are sure, a large number of people will not only derive joy and pleasure but also receive light and wisdom from the great masters of letters.

Who, for instance, has time to go through the mighty tomes of Edward Gibbon. But to miss his Roman Empire is to miss one of the real joys of learning. Would not a selection from his immortal history be a priceless gift to all lovers of history and literature ?

Perhaps Mr. Rawlinson will be induced to do for other writers what he has so admirably done for Stevenson and Morley.

S. K. B.

Morley's Select Essays edited by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., Macmillan & Co.

The recent death of Lord Morley has robbed the world of letters of a very conspicuous figure and has caused a void—not easily to be filled up. But Lord Morley has died in the fulness of years—loved and honoured by all. To India he has made a priceless gift; and India, therefore, will cherish his name for evermore. What is the secret of his greatness, his wondrous sway? Like his revered master, John Stuart Mill, he clung to truth with undeviating devotion. Nothing would induce him to part company with it. And if he stood by Truth, Truth stood by him. Hence the permanent charm of his writings. But one other feature must needs be mentioned too. He was trained in the animating surges of public life; and hence, we have in his writings a breadth of view; a readiness to acknowledge and forgive limitations, charity towards those at variance with his ideas, and whole-hearted support for those who agreed with and shared his beliefs, judgments, views.

It would be impertinent to speak of his style—the style of a recognised master of letters. Thoughts precious, thoughts lofty, thoughts inspiring, stimulating; and language at once sweet, austere, sublime.

Mr. Rawlinson is to be congratulated on his selections. But selection from Lord Morley's writings is no easy task. Everything that he has written is choice; yet, within a short compass, Mr. Rawlinson has done well. The study of this little book will provoke curiosity; and curiosity, we doubt not, will lead to further study of Lord Morley's writings.

We may apply to Lord Morley the very words that he used in his essay on the death of his revered master—John Stuart Mill:

"The teachers of men are so few, the gift of intellectual fatherhood is so rare, and is surrounded by such singular gloriousness. The loss of a powerful and generous statesman, or of a great master in letters or art, teaches us with many a vivid regret."

And such a teacher of men was Lord Morley—a teacher by right divine.

S. K. B.

The Lhora Nagas—by J. P. Mills, I.C.S. (Macmillan & Co., 1922, pp. 255 and pp. x).

The Sema Nagas—by J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., M.A. (Macmillan & Co., 1921, pp. 463 + pp. xviii).

The last work by the veteran Director of Ethnography, Assam, has been graced by a foreword by the eminent ethnographer Henry Balfour who points out that 'to the ethnologist as well as to the administrator of native affairs, Mr. Hutton's careful and first-hand description of the Semas will prove of great value.'

These books like other monographs on Assam tribes have very full descriptions of the general traits, domestic life, laws and customs, religion and language of the people. The folk-lore portions have been rendered very valuable and interesting by the setting in of some tales in the original language with interlinear translation. The appendices are very useful and try to tackle the questions most interesting to the comparative ethnologist, *e.g.*, that of migration and culture-contact. Mr. Hutton had not in hand Mr. Perry's latest work "Children of the Sun" when his book came out;

still, he discusses the latter's work on the 'Megalithic Culture of Indonesia' and is rather disposed to dismiss him lightly on account of the discrepancy in detail. However, though the book is a very valuable mine of first-hand information it would have been of world-wide interest to discuss in detail the problem of the position which the hill tribes of Assam hold in the great Indo-Chinese family and their relation to Aryan and Mongolian cultures, their relationship to the Indonesians and to some races in the South Pacific. Studies in comparative technology in the line of Graebner or in comparative sociology like Pater Schmidt, even if the culture-contact studies of Elliot Smith and his school were left out as highly speculative, would have been highly fruitful. Besides this, anthropometric data worked out biometrically in charts would have gone towards the completeness of works which coming out even in recent years with all the resources of the government at its back have very little to show in advance, so far as method is concerned, of the very early works of Dalton and Breeks in the field of Indian ethnography.

P. M.

Dyspepsia and Diabetes, by Chandra Chakrabarty (Published by Ram Chandra Chakrabarty, M.A., 58, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1).

As the author says in the Preface, the pamphlet is intended for the "Educated middle class brain-workers" of our country, a large majority of whom are victims of dyspepsia and diabetes. A volume written in plain and simple language explaining to our educated countrymen rules relating to dietary and personal hygiene is indeed a desideratum, but it is extremely doubtful whether the writer of the pamphlet under review has succeeded in making himself clear to his readers. The average non-medical "educated middle class brain-worker" is hardly expected to be familar with the mysteries of "proteolytic enzymes," "pyorrhœa alocolaris" "mespentericus vulgatus," "oxyphenylamino propionic acid" and similar other things with which the book bristles. As a short summary of the available medical and physiological literature on dyspepsia and diabetes the book may prove useful to a narrow circle of readers.

"MEDICUS."

Ourselves

PROFESSOR WILLOUGHBY.

Professor Willoughby of the John Hopkins University, Baltimore, U. S. A., who has been invited to deliver a course of lectures on "The Fundamental Concepts of Public Law" as Tagore Professor, has arrived and commenced the delivery of his lectures. The lucidity of his exposition of an abstruse subject has been much appreciated by a large audience. His work is ready for publication and will deal with the following topics;

I The Province of Political Philosophy.
II The Juristic Conception of the State.
III The Value of Juristic Political Philosophy.
IV The State as a Juristic Person.
V State and Government—distinguished.
VI The Terms, Nation and People—defined.
VII Territory and People as constitutive elements of the State.
VIII Allegiance and Citizenship.
IX Sovereignty.
X The Nature of Positive Law.
XI The Origin of the State, historically and psychologically considered.
XII The Situs and Modes of Exercise of Sovereignty; Constitutional and Pure Legal or Juristic Theory—distinguished.
XIII The Birth and Death of the State—juristically considered.
XIV The Federal State.
XV The United States of America.
XVI Non-Sovereign Bodies Politic.
XVII Law and Sovereignty as envisaged by International Law.
XVIII The Concept of the State in International Law.
XIX Final Definitions.

* * * *

UNIVERSITIES CONGRESS AT SIMLA.

The Government of India have provisionally adopted a scheme for the holding of a Universities Congress at Simla, as appears from the following letter addressed by that Government to the Government of Bengal:

> I am directed to state that the Lytton Committee lay much stress in their Report on the need for co-operation between the different Indian Universities. The Calcutta University Commission had previously made a similar recommendation. The question was considered at a meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education which was held in February last. The Board came to the unanimous conclusion that it would be desirable to convoke a meeting of accredited representatives of the Indian Universities at which questions of common interest could be discussed. They suggested for example the co-ordination of research work with possibly the issue of a common journal of Indian Research, the exchange of library books in order to avoid the cost of the unnecessary duplication of expensive publications, the recognition of Indian Universities' degrees in other countries, etc. The Board was of the opinion that such an opportunity for discussion would be welcomed by the Universities, and recommended that the Government of India should ascertain the views of those bodies on their proposal. There are also possibilities of development in the direction of specialisation in particular lines of study which might repay exploration.
>
> The Government of India are disposed to believe that the time is opportune for a Conference such as that suggested by the Board, and I am therefore to request that if the idea commends itself to your Government, the opinion of the Calcutta and Dacca Universities on this proposal may be ascertained and communicated to the Government of India together with any recommendations your Government may care to make.
>
> The Government of India suggest—
>
> (*a*) that the Conference might suitably be held in May next at Simla, when the winter session of the Universities is over;
>
> (*b*) that each University might be represented by three delegates at least one of whom should be selected in consultation with the local Government as being in touch with the local Government's views, and
>
> (*c*) that the topics for discussion should be suggested by the Universities themselves.
>
> The Government of India desire to emphasise the fact that the Conference is proposed solely in the interests of the Universities and of Indian students.
>
> While they are willing to undertake the responsibility for the preliminary correspondence, for the initial arrangements for the Conference and for the subsequent circulation of its proceedings, they cannot assume any liability for expenditure on the travelling or contingent expenses of the delegates. They have little doubt that the Universities will be ready to meet the small cost thus involved if they consider that a conference is desirable.

The Government of Bengal thereupon addressed the following letter to the University:

> I am directed to forward herewith for favour of expression of opinion by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate a copy of a letter No. 1-29, dated the 29th September 1923, from the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, regarding a scheme for the holding of a Universities Congress at Simla.
>
> In the event of the proposal for holding the Universities Conference at Simla in May next commending itself to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate I am to request that the topics, which the University desire to be discussed in the proposed conference, may be suggested and that in sending up the names of three delegates at least one should be selected who is in touch with the Local Government's views.
>
> I am to request that a reply to this letter may be sent by the middle of December next at latest.

The Senate, on the 24th November, 1923, welcomed the proposal to hold a Universities Congress and resolved to request the Government of Bengal to inform the Government of India that the activities of this University comprised so many educational interests that they could not be adequately represented by less than seven delegates.

The following gentlemen were appointed delegates:

1. Mr. W. W. Hornell, C.I.E., M.A., *Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.*

2. The Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D., *President of the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science; Dean of the Faculties of Arts and Law; formerly Vice-Chancellor of the University.*

3. Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D. D.C.L., *President of the Governing Body of the Carmichael Medical College; formerly Vice-Chancellor of the University.*

4. Mr. Herambachandra Maitra, M.A., *Principal, City College, Calcutta.*

5. Sir Praphullachandra Ray, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Sc., *Palit Professor of Chemistry, University College of Science, and Dean of the Faculty of Science.*

6. Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D. Litt., *Principal, Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.*

7. Shams-ul-ulama Hidayet Hossain, Khan Bahadur, *Professor of Arabic and Persian, Presidency College, Calcutta.*

* * * *

INDIAN VERNACULARS.

On the 24th November, 1923, the Senate adopted an important change in the curriculum for Indian Vernaculars for the Matriculation, Intermediate and B. A. Examinations. The following memorandum by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee on the subject was unanimously approved by the Faculty of Arts on the 10th November, 1923. The scheme has now been unanimously approved by the Senate.

I

That in paragraph 9 of Chapter XXX, paragraph 7 of Chapter XXXI, paragraph 6 of Chapter XXXII and paragraph

7 of Chapter XXXV, the expression "One of the following Vernacular languages" be substituted for "Composition in one of the following Vernacular languages."

II

That paragraphs 1-4 of the syllabus on Vernaculars and Alternative Paper in English for the Matriculation Examination, paragraphs 1-5 of the syllabus on Vernaculars and Alternative Paper in English for the Intermediate Examinations and paragraphs 1-2 of the syllabus on Vernaculars and Alternative Paper in English for the B.A. Examination be omitted and the following be substituted in lieu thereof:

1. The course in Vernacular shall include select texts in prose and verse to be prescribed by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Board of Studies concerned.

The Syndicate shall also draw up, on the recommendation of the Board, a small selection of books by notable authors as showing the standard up to which students will be expected to have read.

2. The examination shall include:

(*a*) Questions on the subject-matter and on the language of the prescribed texts ... ... 40 marks.

(*b*) An Unseen Passage to be summarised or amplified in the Vernacular ... ... 15 marks.

(*c*) Translation from English into Vernacular 15 ,,

(*d*) Questions on Composition ... 0 ,,

(*e*) An Essay in Vernacular—headings being given 20 ,,

(3) The unseen passage shall not exceed in difficulty the

(*a*) Vernacular texts prescribed for the examination.

(*b*) Questions shall not be set on the history of language or literature of the Vernacular.

4. The Alternative Paper in English (for candidates whose Vernacular is a language not included in the prescribed list) shall include

(*a*) questions on selected texts in prose and verse to be prescribed by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Board of Studies in English; and

(*b*) questions on composition including Rhetoric and Prosody.

I have drawn up the above scheme with a view to secure the compulsory study of prescribed texts in the Vernacular by candidates preparing for the Matriculation, the Intermediate and the B.A. Examination.

19th October, 1923. ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

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PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNAN AND DR. GHOSAL.

The following extract from the *New Statesman*, dated 6th October, 1923, will be read with interest by our readers:

"Whatever we may be obliged to think, to-day or to-morrow, about the social and intellectual condition of India, there cannot be the smallest doubt as to the fact of the country's mental activity. We have abundant contemporary proof of the intensity and variety of Indian inquiry, which seems to fall broadly into two divisions. European students will decide, according to their own bias, whether the more hopeful signs are discoverable in the work of the universities, proceeding on the assumption that the world of science and scholarship knows nothing of physical boundaries, or in the manifestos of those, nationalists in philosophy as in affairs, who are interested first of all in the denial of Western claims to superiority.

The first of the books listed [1] is not only by far the most important of the four, but is among the most considerable of the essays in interpretation that have come from Indian scholars in recent years. Professor Radhakrishnan occupies the George V chair of philosophy in Calcutta University, and his treatise, of which we have as yet only the first volume, belongs to the valuable Library of Philosophy edited by Professor J. H. Muirhead. English readers are continually on the look-out for a compendium of Indian thought, written by a modern with a gift for lucid statement, and showing a healthy objection to overloading the pages with the terrifying proper names and technical terms in which the dry-as-dust Orientalist takes his unholy pleasure. Here is the book for them. Professor Radhakrishnan writes good and plain English; he moves quietly amid the masses of material; he is as sparing of the Sanskrit and Pali vocabularies as may be. Beginning, inevitably, with the Vedic period, he goes clearly through the Upanishads and the Epics, the ethical idealism of Buddha, the "pluralistic realism" of the Jains, the theism of the *Bhagavad Gita*, and brings his admirable first volume down to the schools of Buddhism. It is cordially to be hoped that the Calcutta professor will push rapidly on to the completion of his task.

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[1] **Indian Philosophy.** By S. Radhakrishnan. Vol. 1. Allen and Unwin. 21*s*.

"Hindu politics was, as a rule, thoroughly secular—*i.e.*, Lutheran and Machiavellian." This is the startling statement of a Bengali professor, intent upon making an end of all the good easy Westerners who have accepted Max Müller's dictum that "India has no place in the political history of the world." Professor Ghoshal, of the Presidency College, Calcutta, is not the author of the saying in question, but he would not dispute it. On the contrary, he finds a great deal in the *Arthasāstra* (the Hindu scriptures of government) and in the later canonical works of the Brahmans that is essential Machiavellism. Ancient and mediæval Hindu political thought is centred in the theory of the monarchic state and the divine right of kings, while, on the other hand, Professor Ghosal draws an interesting parallel between the dominant social theory and the European conception of the Social Contract. His full exposition of Kautilya's system (*circa* 300 B.C.) is an excellent piece of work.[1]

Mr. Widgery's book,[2] made out of lectures delivered in India, is almost wholly descriptive. It sets out to describe some of the chief facts of all religions, in the language mainly of their scriptures and liturgies, and it issues as a careful though scrappy compilation. A writer, for example, should not decide to bring in a mention of the use of sex symbols in religion, and then be content with the meagre paragraphs that Mr. Widgery devotes to the theme. If the lectures were given in Baroda and Mysore substantially as they appear in book form, they may stand as one more argument in favour of a root-and-branch reform of the lecture as a means of instruction.

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[1] **A History of Hindu Political Theories.** By U. Ghosal. Oxford University Press. 11*s*. 6*d*.

[2] **The Comparative Study of Religions.** By Alban G. Widgery. Williams and Norgate. 12*s*. 6*d*.

The new light on the philosophy of India that Mr. Chetty[1] has caught is the light of Immanuel Swedenborg. It is through him alone, this disciple in Madras avers, that Jesus Christ can conquer India—a prediction that, obviously, can be met only with the comment that we must wait and see. The little book is designed to prove the essential identity of the Swedenborgian vision of spiritual things with that enshrined in the Tamil scriptures.

We note two material points. First, that each of these volumes is provided with an index, two of them being excellent. Secondly, that Dr. Ghoshal's and Mr. Widgery's books have been printed in India—the first being very good and the second atrocious."

DR. SITESH CHANDRA KAR.

Our congratulations to Mr. Sitesh Chandra Kar who has just been approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy for his thesis "On the Theory of Generalised Quanta and the Balmar Lines." He also submitted two subsidiary theses "On the Electrodynamic Potential of Moving Charges" and "On the Electric Resistance of a Conducting Spheroid with given Electrodes." The Board of Examiners consisted of three distinguished physicists, Professor John William Nicholson, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. (Oxford), Professor Owen William Richardson, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. (London), and Dr. Norman R. Campbell, Sc.D (London).

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[1] **New Light on the Philosophy of India.** By D. Gopaul Chetty. Dent. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Mr. Kar was First in the First Class in Mixed Mathematics at the M.A. Examination in 1910. He has been for many years Professor of Mathematics at the Bangabasi College and University Lecturer in the Department of Applied Mathematics. His case illustrates one of the advantages of the present Post-graduate system which affords an opportunity to lecturers in Colleges to associate themselves with advanced teaching and research.

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DR. PRAFULLACHANDRA GUHA.

Our congratulations to Mr. Prafullachandra Guha who has just been approved for the Degree of Doctor of Science for eleven theses on various problems of Organic Chemistry. Some of the theses had been previously published in the Transactions of the Chemical Society of London, Journal of the American Chemical Society and the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes. Three of the papers have not yet been published. The Board of Examiners consisted of three distinguished chemists, namely, Professor Sir William Jackson Pope, K.B.E., M.A., M.Sc., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S. (Cambridge), Dr. Henry John Horstman Fenton, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. (Cambridge), and Dr. W. H. Mills, D.Sc., F.R.S. (Cambridge). Mr. Guha was First in the First class in Chemistry at the M.Sc. Examination in 1917. He is a Premchand Roychand student and was Palit Research Scholar working under Sir P. C. Ray. He is now in the Dacca University.

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DR. G. N. BANERJEE.

The International Congress of the Religions held its sittings at the Sorbonne, Paris, from 8th to 13th October last. M. Th. Homolle, President de l'Institut de France presided.

A paper on " Sur l'ancienne religion de l'Inde " (On the Ancient Religion of India) by Dr. Gauranga Nath Banerjee, University Lecturer in Ancient History and a Delegate to the Congress, was read before the Indian and Persian Religion Section.

* * * *

MR. KHUDA BUKHSH.

Our numerous readers will be delighted to learn that Mr. Khuda Bukhsh has at last been induced to publish in book form his beautiful little Prose Poems (Love Offerings) that he contributed to this *Review.* We are sure this new publication will receive a warm welcome and sincere appreciation from the English reading public. For in those beautiful poems Mr. Khuda Bukhsh has in his own inimitable way given expression to those eternal feelings which all human hearts share in common. Each of us feels and has felt the thrills of joy, the bitterness of sorrow, the pangs of disappointment, and Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's presentation of these elemental joys, therefore, cannot but be of interest to any one having the least pretension to culture. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh says he cannot claim originality. But we do not agree with him. His themes are as old as the human race and have in all times found their place in songs of all races and all lands. But all poets are not necessarily of the same temperament and do not face the storms and the sunshine of life exactly in the same manner. Though his theme is old, Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's presentation of it is certainly original. His thought is tinged by two streams of culture, Eastern and Western, and the poems are all the more enjoyable as they possess the largeness and freshness of outlook so characteristic of the West and that cheerful resignation so commonly and appropriately associated with the East. We have no doubt about the success of the little volume that will shortly see light.

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MR. JYOTISHCHANDRA GHOSH.

Our felicitations to Mr. Jyotishchandra Ghosh one of our lecturers in English in the Postgraduate Department who has received the Degree of Bachelor of Literature in the University of Oxford. Mr. Ghosh had a brilliant academical record here, and his splendid success at Oxford is one more proof, if proof were needed, of the equality of a Calcutta graduate with any of his *compeers* in the domain of learning.

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MR. W. W. HORNELL.

Flaming headlines have appeared in certain Calcutta papers announcing that Mr. W. W. Hornell, the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, has been offered and has accepted the post of the Vice-Chancellor of the Hongkong University. We offer our sincerest congratulations to Mr. Hornell. Our gladness, however, is undoubtedly tinged with sorrow at the thought of Mr. Hornell's departure in one of the most critical periods of educational development of this province. One of the Assistant Secretaries to the Haldane Commission, a Professor in the Presidency College, a Member of the Calcutta University Commission, a Director of Public Instruction for wellnigh a dozen years, Mr. Hornell stood for a sympathetic educationist and a kind-hearted administrator who survived equally well the bitter James-Hornell controversy and the insidious malignant opposition in a reformed dispensation.

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The following biographical notes from the latest issue of "Who is Who." will, no doubt, interest our readers :

Hornell, William Woodward, C.I.E., 1918 ; Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, since 1913 and Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal since 1920 ; a Member of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19 ; 2nd S. of late Robt. Hornell, Barrister-at-law, Inner Temple, and Elizabeth Brooking Cornish ; b. 18 Sep. 1878 ; unmarried. Educ : Radley ; Trinity College, Oxford. Appointed to Indian Educational

Service, 1901 ; Professor of English, Presidency College, Calcutta, 1902 ; Inspector of European Schools, Bengal, 1903 ; Assist. Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, 1906 ; resigned Indian Educational Service and joined Board of Education, Whitehall, 1908 : Assistant Director of Special Inquiries and Reports, Board of Education, 1910 ; Secretary, Imperial Education Conference, 1911. Address : Bengal Club, Calcutta. Clubs : New University ; Bengal, Calcutta.

"Ditcher" has the following characteristic remarks in *Capital :*

"A favourite song of my irreverent youth expressed the chagrin of a jilted lover who concentrated his disappointment in the refrain "She can go to Hong Kong for me." Very much the same kind of song was sung by the Old Woman of Chowringhee in May, 1913, when in spite of her furious opposition Mr. Hornell was sent from London to become Director of Public Instruction in Bengal. But time softens asperities and very often clears the vision To-day the dear old gossip is tearful that there is a chance of Mr. Hornell going to Hong Kong as Vice-Chancellor of the local University. Her grief will be shared by all who know what Mr. Hornell has done for education in Bengal during a decade of exceptionally difficult conditions. The demands on his department have been heavy and insistent, and he has had to meet them with a reduced cadre and a short purse. Were he not the cheeriest of optimists he would have broken down under the strain. As an administrator his most valuable assets are *savior faire*, and tact enabling him to get things done not only in Writers' Buildings but in the Senate Hall of the Calcutta University. I owe him much for his consistent championship of the Catholic Orphanages in which I am interested, and it is a joy to be able to say of him from my heart that "he nothing common did or mean." How the orphans of the Entally Convent will miss his Christmas dinner at which he served with boyish delight.

His locked, lettered, braw brass collar
Showed him the gentleman and scholar."

* * * *

EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN THE VISVA-BHARATI.

"Special arrangements have been made in the Nari-vibhaga (women's department) of Visva-bharati for the education of girls. At present, in addition to the usual subjects, they are taught music, painting, weaving and book-binding. It is our desire to add to these as opportunities occur, hygiene, sick-nursing, vegetable gardening and domestic science generally. For many reasons our boys have to confine themselves to a narrow range of subjects, in conformity with Government University requirements,—our girls are more fortunate in not having the same reason for being confined to the same courses, and can, therefore, keep in view an all-round culture in the course of their training. It is my hope, because our girls are free from such educational disabilities, that if those who are anxious about their proper education, come and join hands with us, and contribute to the requisite financial strength of Visva-bharati, we can build up an ideal institution for the training of our women.

Any help whether by way of lump-sum donations or of annual grants will be welcome and I trust that this appeal will not be made in vain."

(Sd.) RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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THE ART SOCIETY OF INDIA.

The members of the Art Society of India, Ambewadi, Girgaon, Bombay, have addressed the following appeal to all those who are anxious and striving for the preservation and growth of the rich artistic potentialities of the nation at present found suppressed by adverse circumstances :

"The members of the 'Art Society of India' are convinced that the time has arrived when they should help the nation to realise the danger which threatens the existence of national arts. They feel that they should now as occasion permits, reveal the daily increasing difficulties against which the artist and the craftsmen of the nation have to struggle. It is obvious that the nation cannot hope to preserve or develop its priceless artistic potentialities if it neglects its artists and craftsmen. The difficulties and the hardships of the artists and craftsmen are almost innumerable. And, if the arts and crafts are to be revived and re-established on an enduring basis, they will, no doubt, require a fairly comprehensive scheme. But the immediate purpose of "the Art Society of India" in addressing the art loving public is to rescue the artists and the craftsmen and, therefore, the national arts from extinction. That is why they have thought it right to rest content with addressing to the public general appeal rather than placing before them definite suggestions for the scheme.

The members of 'the Art Society of India' claim that it is absolutely essential that if the nation's arts and crafts are to be preserved the artists and craftsmen must be given every encouragement, opportunity, and employment for the due exercise and development of their talents. There are, it is well known, activities going on all over the country at present which offer more than ample opportunities for the encouragement and employment of Indian artists and craftsmen. There is almost an unlimited field for their employment, if only the public can realise it. There are immediate ways in which the public, if it determines, can help them. How much even of the work meant for the public and financed from public revenues, in Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and the Art-crafts falls to the lot or share of the Indian artists or craftsmen? Why is it still considered necessary to press the claims of the Indian artists at New Delhi? Is it not their right? Why is it considered necessary to beg for commissions to Indian Sculptors, commissions which are, it is strange, even now entrusted to alien artists and sculptors? Why is it necessary to plead for Indian architecture? Why cannot the Indian architect find employment at home? Why are his services not utilised for public buildings and monuments? Why are Indian craftsmen so completely shut off from public recognition? These are the questions which those who claim to lead must answer, and answer satisfactorily. For, on them depends the future of Indian arts and crafts.

" While expressing its deep but respectful regret for existing things, *The Art Society of India* makes an emphatic and united appeal to all those who desire a renaissance of national arts and crafts to secure for the Indian artists and craftsmen every opportunity, employment, and encouragement that can be possibly obtained for them. They insist on their rights more particularly about the activities which offer them a chance and which are meant, financed and maintained from public and out of public revenues. They are not at present asking much. They merely plead for their right to exist for a minimum living wage. They are asking for a fair field, a chance to earn their position. It is both right and just. And, it must be done now. Both sound policy and genuine, sterling patriotism demand recognition of their indisputable claims by the public. If you want to achieve soon the renaissance which you aspire to, if you wish to preserve the priceless artistic potentialities of the nation, if you wish to rescue the artists and craftsmen from extinction, give the nation's artists and craftsmen opportunity to live, the employment for the due exercise and development of their talents. That is all that 'the Art Society of India' at present seeks to obtain from their countrymen."

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BENGAL COUNCIL AND UNIVERSITY CONSTITUENCY.

The election to the Bengal Legislative Council from amongst the graduates of the Calcutta University came off on the 30th November, 1923. Out of 7271 voters 5461 voted. The result of the polling was as follows:

Mr. B. K. Bose (*Swarajya*)	2089
Sir Nilratan Sarcar	1852
Mr. D. P. Ghose	691
Rai Bahadur J. C. Ghose (sitting member) ..	676
Mr. P. K. Ray	74
Rejected	79

Our heartiest congratulations to Mr. Bejoykrishna Bose. Mr. Bose is an experienced Vakil of the Calcutta High Court and enjoys an extensive practice, principally in Criminal Courts at Alipore. His edition of the Indian Penal Code and his Commentaries on the Code of Criminal Procedure, which have passed through several editions, are widely used by the profession. His report of the "Alipore Bomb Trial" which was published last year, with a Foreword by Mr. Eardley Norton, shows much industry and research and gives an adequate account of a memorable trial. Mr. Bose, it will be recalled, appeared on behalf of the accused both in the Original Court and in the High Court and is reported to have defended his clients without any remuneration. He has been for many years a member of the Congress and of the District Board as also of the Calcutta Corporation. Wherever he has worked he has established his reputation as a fearless critic.